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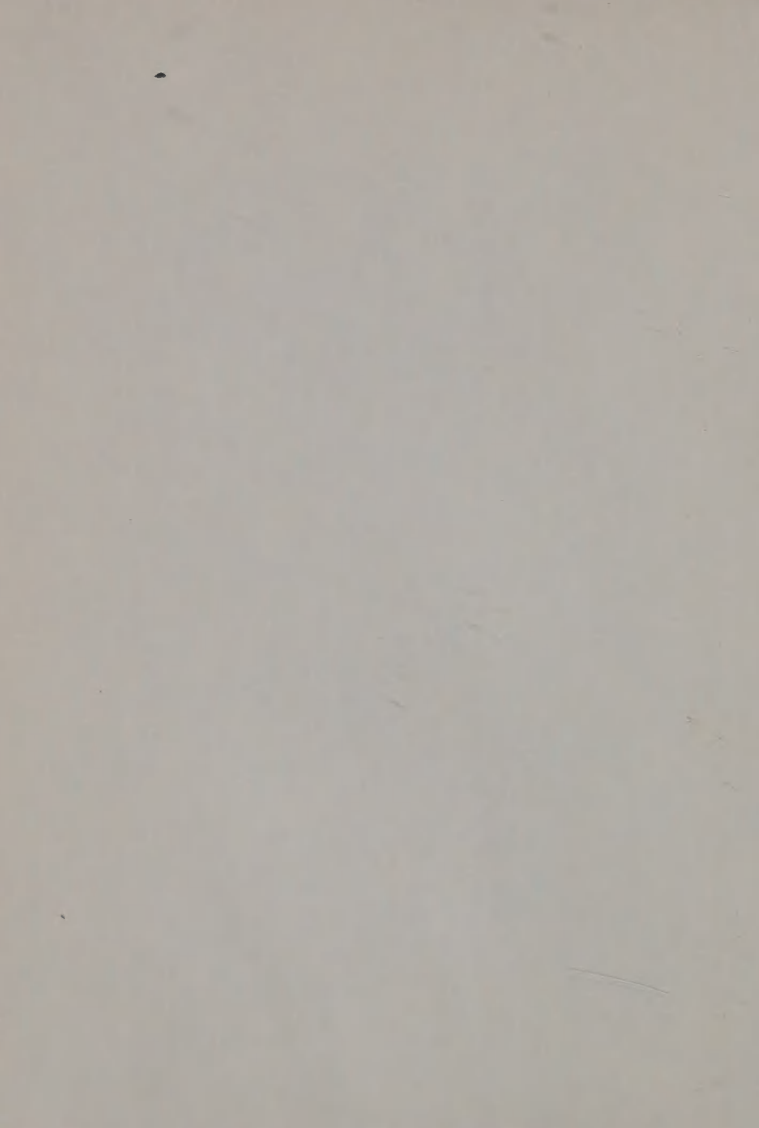
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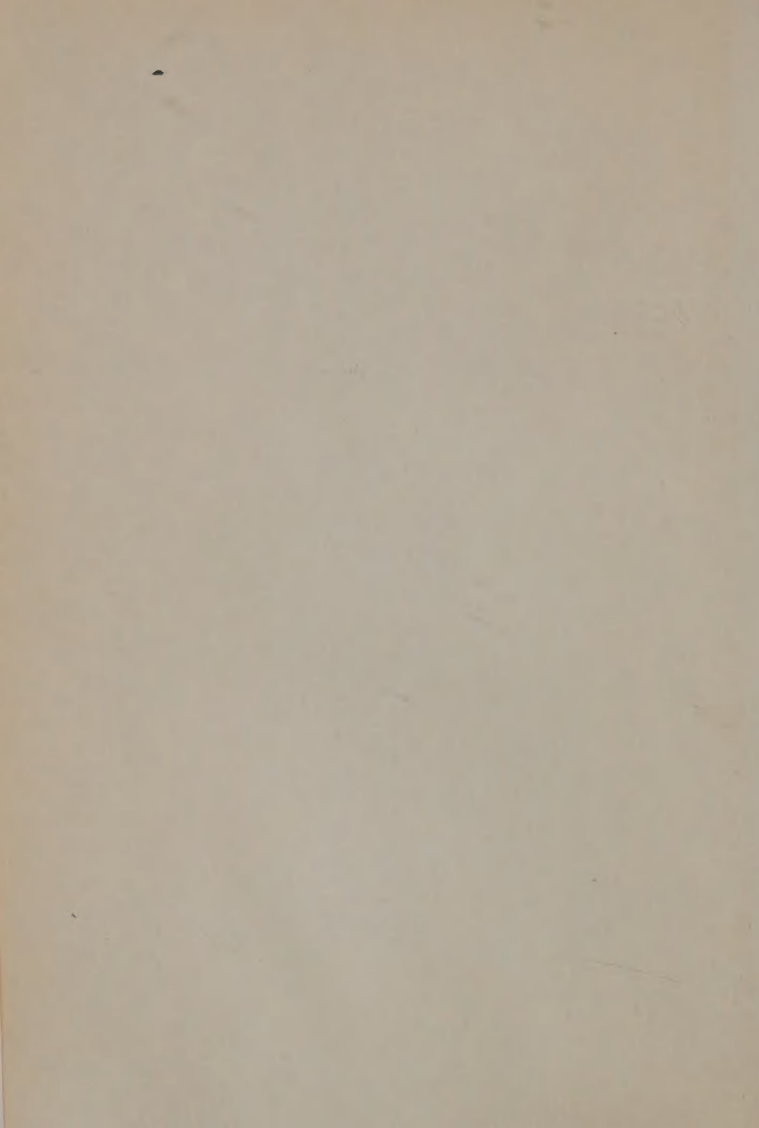
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THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS
OF
ISLÁM

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THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

OF

ISLÁM

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BY

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"ISLÁM: ITS RISE AND PROGRESS"



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P R E F A C E

THE main portion of this book formed a chapter in my "Essays on Islám," published in 1901. I have made many additions to it and have added information more recent than any I then possessed. I have published it in this separate form, in order that attention may be more directly drawn to an important movement in Africa. Although increased interest is being taken in African Missions, I doubt whether there is yet any adequate conception of the seriousness of the position, or any true realization of the extreme urgency for immediate action. I trust this simple account of a little-known movement may be a means of developing still more interest in the affairs of all Societies engaged in mission work in Africa..

THE
RELIGIOUS ORDERS
OF ISLAM.

THE two most active elements in Muslim lands in the opposition to social, political, and religious reforms and to the advance of modern civilization are the 'Ulamá, the men who may be said to form the lawyers and the clergy of Islám, and the various Orders of Darweshes. The 'Ulamá speak in the name of the sacred Law, eternal, unchangeable. The Darweshes look upon Islám as a vast theocracy, in which their spiritual leaders are the true guides. It is conceivable that the 'Ulamá might be brought to see that, if some concessions would save a Muslim State from ruin or extinction, it might be to their advantage to make them. The Darwesh treats with scorn any attempt at compromise, and looks upon a Muslim government, which in the least departs from the laws and practices of the early Khalífate, as disloyal to the great principle that Islám is a theocracy.

Its first rulers were neither kings nor princes : they were preachers, Khalífas, or vice-regents of the Prophet. In the opinion of the Darwesh, as it was then so it should be now. Muslims should be governed by an Imám, who is both a religious and a political leader, whose chief business it is to maintain the laws of Islám intact, to execute justice according to their standard, to guard the frontiers, and to raise armies for the defence of the Faith. He should be so manifestly a ruler that the words of the sacred Tradition would be realized, namely, that "He who dies without recognizing the authority of the Imám of the age, is accounted dead and is an infidel." It is the special function of the great Religious Orders to keep this principle active and to teach the people its vast importance. The most religious of the Muslim people see that the civilization of Europe, now finding its way into Muslim lands, is a very great danger, and they seek to meet and to counteract it by a large development of the Religious Orders. Throughout the East these confraternities, like all which influences the religious life of Islám, are conservative and hostile to modern civilization and European influence. In Africa and in parts of Asia this has resulted in a great pan-Islámic movement, still actively going on, and having for its object not merely "resistance to the advance of Chris-

tianity; but also opposition to the progress of all modern civilization." ¹ Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, this same movement has grown with great rapidity. Under various pretexts, innumerable agents of the Religious Orders have gone throughout the Muslim world. They have adopted many disguises. Sometimes they are students, preachers, doctors; sometimes artisans, beggars, quacks; but they are everywhere received by the people and protected by them when they are suspected by the ruling powers. A French writer, one of the best living authorities on the subject, says that the reform movement in Islám during the nineteenth century has led to a great increase in the Religious Orders. The movement has not depended on the orthodox expounders and authorized keepers of the canon law, but, on the contrary, has relied on the leaders of the mystical sects, such as the Báb, the Mahdi and the great Darwesh leaders. The most active element in Islám is now to be found amongst these Darweshes, and from them has proceeded an active propaganda, especially in Africa. This author sums up a long review of the whole position by saying that "all this constitutes a grave danger to the civilized world." ²

¹ Count Castries, "L' Islám," p. 220.

² Chatelier, "Islám au xix. Siécle," p. 187.

It was not until the nineteenth century that Islám suffered any very grave reverses. It had had to retire a little in Europe, but in Africa it was still strong. So its religious element became slack. Now the position is changed. Algiers is gone, Morocco is in danger, the English dominate India and Egypt, Austria controls Bosnia and Bulgaria is free. Russia has encroached largely on the Turkish Empire, has also absorbed the Central Asian Khanates, and threatens Persia. Muslim rule in Central Africa is in danger, and it is not likely that it will now extend further south; for on all sides the Christian Powers are encroaching, and some of the best tribes, not yet wholly won to Islám, are within their respective spheres of influence, and the still independent Muslim States have to submit to a good deal of outward control. The destruction of separate States as political powers has strengthened the pan-Islámic movement, the object of which is to unite under one political head, the Khalífa, all good Muslims and so to create a great world-power. The development of commerce and the wider influence of modern civilization and learning, its art and science, are also disturbing elements in the Muslim world. Its contemptuous isolation, its absolute sway, are becoming things of the past. This is very distressing to pious Muslims of the old orthodox

school. It has provoked a great reaction. The religious spirit has been stirred up on its most fanatical side, and the Religious Orders have, in consequence, grown in extent and influence.

The existence of secret societies is not congenial to the spirit of Oriental despotism, for the power of the religious leader is apt to exceed that of the temporal one, and so, at various times, attempts have been made to curtail their influence. In the sixteenth century, Sultán Mauli Ismá'il tried to suppress the Darwesh Orders and failed. In the seventeenth century, Kouprouli Muḥammad Pasha, the able Vizier of Sultán Muḥammad IV, tried his best to ruin the Mauláwiyya, the Khilwatiyya, the Jalwatiyya and the Shamsiyya Orders, but did not succeed. In fact, he only showed the ultimate weakness of the Sultán's rule and largely increased the importance and power of the Orders he tried in vain to suppress. A still stronger man, Sultán Maḥmúd, in 1826, after suppressing the Janissaries, tried to break up the Order of the Baktáshiyya but failed.¹ The head of the Order

¹ There was a close connexion between the Janissaries and this Order. When Sultán Orkhan in 1328 created the Yenicherees (Janissaries), or New Troops, he sought some religious sanction for his action. The Shaikh of the Baktáshiyyas blessed the troops by putting the sleeve of his robe on the head of one of the soldiers, in such a way that it hung down behind his back, and said:—"The militia which you have just created shall be called

and his two chief officers were publicly executed, the abolition of the Order was proclaimed, many of its monasteries were demolished, and even the Darweshes connected with it were compelled to change their distinctive costume, but the Order survived and is powerful still. These men were not lacking in courage. One of them stopped Sultán Maḥmúd at the gate of Galata and seizing the bridle of his horse said: "Giaour Padishah, art thou not yet content with abominations? Thou wilt answer to God for all thy godlessness. Thou art destroying the institutions of thy brethren, thou revilest Islám, and drawest the vengeance of the Prophet on thyself and on us." The Sultán called on his guard to put this 'fool' away. "I a fool," said the Darwesh, "it is thou and thy worthless counsellors who have lost their senses. Muslims to the rescue!" This Darwesh was executed the next day, and it is said that the following night a soft light was seen over his tomb. He is now venerated as a saint.

In Algiers, the work of the Darweshes has been more manifest since 1830. The Emir 'Abdu'l-

Yenicheree, its figures shall be fair and shining, its arm redoubtable, its sword sharp. It shall be victorious in all battles and ever return triumphant." In memory of this, the Janissaries wore a white felt cap, having a piece of the same material pendant on their backs. These troops were very closely attached to this Order, and this may have excited the animosity of Sultán Maḥmúd against it.

Qádir owed much of his popularity and success to the intrigues and support of the members of the Qádiriyya Order. The insurrections in 1864, 1871, 1881 were due in great part to the action of these Darweshes. In the last the members of the Raḥmáníyya Order also took part and stirred up the Kabyles to active opposition. They work in secret and influence the masses of the people. It is very difficult to counteract their influence, for whenever, after a local insurrection, the French have destroyed the Záwiyahs,¹ or monasteries, of the Religious Orders, whose members helped to stir up strife, it has been found to be invariably the case that it has had no effect whatever in lessening either the number, or even the influence of the Darweshes; but has rather increased both.²

In Egypt the Darweshes are very numerous and are regarded with respect. In Turkey the people believe in them, for, on the whole, the sympathy of the Darweshes is with the masses. The upper classes fear them. Some of the Darwesh leaders are broad-minded men, in spite of

¹ These are called Takyas in Turkey. They are often erected near or over the grave of a Shaikh renowned for his piety. Great care is taken of these tombs, costly cloths cover, and lamps burn before them. Visitors make vows and present offerings with a view of obtaining temporal and spiritual relief.

² Rinn, "Marabouts et Khouan," p. 109.

much about them that seems intolerant. On the other hand, the system affords opportunity for much that is low in morals, especially when the higher degrees are reached and the restraints of law are set aside: when creed and formulas are looked upon as fetters to the inspired and exalted soul.

The temporal power has some hold on the Orders. In Egypt the person who exercises on the part of the State that authority is called the Shaikhu'l-Bakri, and is always a descendant of the Khalífa Abú Bakr. The Khalífa 'Umar also has a representative who is the head of the Enániyya Darweshes. The Khalífa 'Uthmán has none, as he left no issue. The Khalífa 'Alí has one called Shaikhu's-Sádát, or Shaikh of the Sayyids. Each of these is said to be the "occupant of the sajjáda, or the prayer carpet, of his ancestor." The head of an Order is also called the occupant of the sajjáda which belonged to the founder of it. This sajjáda is looked upon as a throne. In Turkey the Shaikhu'l-Islám exercises a certain amount of control over the heads of a Monastery, though he has probably little power with the actual head of the Order. As a rule, the attitude of the Darweshes to the firmáns of the Sultán and to the fatwás of the Muftis is one of resistance. Many of the Orders add to their prestige in the sight of the masses by the

nobility of the origin of their founders, who were Sharífs, or lineal descendants of the Prophet.

The great enemies of the Orders are the 'Ulamá and the official clergy. The feeling is not unlike that between the secular and the monastic clergy in the middle ages. The 'Ulamá, in order to maintain their own prestige, oppose the Darweshes and appeal to the orthodox standards of the Faith; but the Darweshes do the same. The latter reproach the former with being mere time-servers, to which the retort is made that the Darweshes are heretical in doctrine and scandalous in practice. The mass of the Muslims, who do not care for theological disputations, are attracted to the side of the Darweshes. They are not shocked at the dancing and the music; they look upon the Darweshes as the chosen of God, the favourites of heaven. Others again, who look upon some of their practices as bordering on the profane, yet, on the whole, respect them. The ignorant man also sees that, though destitute of the education needed for an 'Ulamá, he may without it acquire in an Order a religious status and power equal to that attained to by his more orthodox and learned brother.¹

¹ "A man who does not belong to the 'Ulamá sees with a sense of surprise that, thanks to the support of the Order to which he belongs, he can without instruction and in spite of the obscurity of his birth acquire a religious power

With this general introduction we can now pass on to consider the constitution of the Orders in more detail. The organization of each is practically the same. The head of an Order is the spiritual heir of its founder, and is called the Shaikh. In some Orders he is a direct descendant of the founder; in others he is chosen by the brotherhood. He is the Grand Master, and has unlimited power. He is also, as a rule, a man of considerable diplomatic skill whose influence often extends beyond the limits of his Order. His counsels and correspondence are transmitted to great distance with a marvellous rapidity—"The voice of the Shaikh influences also all the tribes in Algeria. Mystical in form it is difficult for outsiders to understand, but, known as it is by orientals, it preaches obstinate resistance to all progress, to all civilization."¹ The Shaikh resides in one or other of the Zāwiyahs belonging to the Order. As a rule, the Shaikh is the husband of one wife and only marries a second, when the first is childless and when his office is hereditary. The Shaikh is supposed to have a perfect knowledge of the sacred law and to possess skill in dealing with those who place themselves under his guidance. He is looked up to with the

equal, and sometimes superior, to that of the Marabouts." Hanoteau et Letourneux, "Les Kabyles," Vol. ii, p. 104.

¹ Comte de Castries, "L'Islām," p. 224.

greatest veneration; in fact, absolute obedience to the Shaikh is the very essence of the system. "O my master, you have taught me that you are God and that all is God," says one disciple. The founder of the Baṣṭāmiyya Order said: "Glory be to me! I am above all things." The adoration of the Master too often takes the place of the worship of God, and the ideal life of a Darwesh is one which is in absolute conformity to the will of the Shaikh. In every word and in every act the disciple must keep the Master present to his mind.

Subordinate to the Shaikh are the Muqaddims, who act under his orders and have certain functions allotted to them. A Muqaddim is placed in charge of each Zāwiyah. In a diploma conferred by the Shaikh of the Qádiriyya Order on a Muqaddim, the instructions given to the members of the Order are that they should yield implicit obedience to the Muqaddim, who has the confidence of the chief of the Order; that they must not enter upon any enterprise without his knowledge. Obedience duly rendered to him is as obedience to the Shaikh, who is descended from the saint of saints, 'Abdu'l-Qádiri'l-Jílání. The spiritual guide is called a Pír.

From amongst the Ikhwán,¹ or brethren of the Order, certain persons are selected as assistants

¹ A modern form of this is Khouan.

to the Muqaddim. These are known as the Wakil, who has charge of the property and funds of the Zāwiyah, and the Raqqáb, who is employed as a courier to carry despatches. In connexion with the assemblies of the members, the Muqaddim has the following officials under his charge. The Chá'ush, or leader; the Maddáh, or precentor; the Qassád, or chanters of the elegies;¹ the 'Allám or standard bearers and the Suqáh, or water carriers. All these employments are sought after by the Brethren, and the occupations attached to them are performed seriously and as a grave religious duty.

Then comes the general body of the simple members of the Order. They are called the Ikhwán, or brothers; Aṣḥáb,² or companions; whilst the generic term Darwesh covers all. Muríd, disciple, is a common term and the one frequently in use.

Outside of all these are what may be termed the Associates or the ordinary members, who are the lay members of the Order. They do not live in the Zāwiyahs, though they are open to

¹ An elegy is called قصيدة—qasída.

² They are subdivided into أصحاب الفتوى—Aṣḥábu'l-Fatwá, or companions of the decree; أصحاب البساط—Aṣḥábu'l-Bisát, companions of the carpet; أصحاب الاهد—Aṣḥábu'l-Ashad, companions of zeal; أصحاب اليد—Aṣḥábu'l-Yad, companions of the hand.

them. Still they are in possession of secret signs and words, by the use of which they can always get the protection of the community. They do not make use of the dhikr, or peculiar religious ceremony, of the Order, but use its rosary. Their allegiance is often more political than religious.

He who habitually performs the rites of his Order is looked upon as a Murábiṭ,¹ or Marabout. Their origin is said to be as follows: about the year A.H. 427—A.D. 1049 Shaikh Yaḥyá bin Braham al-Kedálí, a chief of one of the Berber tribes, returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca stayed at Qairwán with Abú Amrán, a very learned man, to whom he made known the ignorance of the people of the Ṣaḥára and the willingness of a chief to receive instruction. At last he found in 'Abdu'lláh ibn Yassín, a pious and austere man, a person fit for this purpose. Some of the people had been converted a good while before, but 'Abdu'lláh ibn

¹ This word is said to come from "rabaṭa," he bound, from which also comes Murábiṭún, the name of one of the Morocco dynasties, corrupted by foreigners into Almoravides (cf. Meakin, "The Moors," p. 331). Another explanation is that a Murábiṭ is one "who habitually lives in a ribát, or a frontier guard-house. Such buildings were occupied by troops, but pious individuals wishing to join in a war (jihád) against unbelievers joined them. The word Murábiṭ, therefore, got the exclusively religious signification of 'devotee' or saint, which appears in the modern form of Marabout." (Nicholson, "A Literary History of the Arabs," p. 430.)

Yassín found them lax in their religious life. His stern discipline was not acceptable to them and he almost gave up the work in despair ; but Yahya remonstrated with him and said : “ You came here at my request, let us go to a secluded place and devote ourselves to the service of God for the rest of our days.” Accompanied by nine faithful Kedalis, they retired to an island in the river Senegal where they built a ribát and gave themselves up to a life of devotion and austere practices. As a punishment for and as a preventive of sin, they punished themselves by bodily torture. The news soon spread that all this was done to obtain Paradise and a number of people flocked to the ribát. Thus a nucleus was formed of a brotherhood, bound to severe rules of penance and of strict obligation to obedience. When about one thousand persons had joined the community, ‘Abdu’lláh ibn Yassín addressed them thus : “ Is it not your duty to fight those who refuse to submit to your doctrines ? ” “ Command what ever you please ” said his disciples. Then, “ Return to your own people and urge them to be converted. If they refuse, we will make war on them till God shall judge between us. He is the best of judges.” The tribes were still obstinate and so force was employed and in the end the people were by this persuasive argument soon converted. Yahyá was the spiritual and temporal head of these

converts,¹ and the Marabouts, as his disciples were now called, made an expedition into the Ṣaḥāra, subjugated the King of Sigilmāsa and ravaged the country far and wide. They thus became a powerful body and under Yūsuf ibn Tashfīn extended their conquests, founded the city of Marrākesh in A.D. 1062 and captured Fez in A.D. 1069, which city, successfully besieged eight times in the first five hundred years of its existence, has only once known a foreign master, when the Turks took possession of it in 1554 without a siege.

The name Marabout quickly became synonymous with that of Walī, or saint, to whom prayers might be addressed and offerings made.

The credulous believe that the Marabout can cure all evils and bless every enterprise. If he produces catastrophes, brings epidemics and condemns the sinful to eternal fire, he can also assist the weak, protect the great and strengthen the faith of the humble. They believe that from his sanctuary the Marabout sees, hears, knows all things, and brings to nought the plans of those who are careless about religion. All this he does by a marvellous supernatural power, as a true saint, as an intermediary between God and man, as the depository of the Qur'ānic lore.

¹ 'Abdu'llāh died in A.D. 1059, but the work he began continued to grow and great numbers of the Berbers became Muslims.

The growing power of the Marabouts marked a distinct phase in the evolution of Islám in Africa. M. Albert Réville says: "If humanity at a certain moment of religious development needs human gods, it is perhaps in Muḥammadanism that this idea draws most of its force and appears most evident. In any case the Marabouts have played and still play marvellously well the part of human gods. Their success depends entirely on the fundamental idea of the Musalmán religion that man is powerless to find the right way—the truth. From that to Mahdiism and again to the Maraboutic worship the distance is quickly crossed."¹

The early Marabouts took care to ensure that their successors should enjoy the material as well as the spiritual advantages of the power gained over the masses of the people.² The superstition of all classes brings to the descendant of their special saint gifts for their advice. Their amulets and talismans are used by, and their

¹ Quoted by Depont et Coppolani, "Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes," p. 148.

² The late Bishop Crowther in the C.M.S. "Intelligencer" for 1880, pp. 253-4, gave a very graphic description of the work of these men, of the lucrative profession of writing charms and of some of their methods of propagating Islám. One way is:—"When childless women, or those who have lost their children in infancy, apply for these charms, the (Muslim) priest always imposes it as a condition of success that the future children must be Muḥammadans."

supposed miracles are worked on behalf of their supplicants. Many saintly legends arose and the power of the Marabout is viewed with mysterious awe. In his grave he is supposed to still possess the means of protecting those who venerate his memory, and of punishing the forgetful and the ungrateful, who neither obey his teaching nor aid his successors.

There are two stages in this religious development in Africa. First, the Marabouts propagated amongst the Berbers the idea of the sanctity of the saint and of the divine grace transmitted to the descendants of the Prophet, and finally moulded the thoughts of those thus influenced by them. In political life, therefore, the power of the Marabout plays a distinct part. Secondly, comes the religious Brotherhood. Though apparently respecting the positions conquered by the Marabouts, the Brotherhood goes on, little by little, to gain ground by the practices of asceticism, contemplation, hysterical mysticism and the force of a combined association.

The founders of the Orders were strictly orthodox; that is, they not only followed the Qur'án, but also accepted the Sunna, the record now preserved in the Traditions of the Prophet's words and deeds, as a divine rule of faith and practice. Certain sayings of the Prophet himself on this point were accepted by them as authoritative,

such as, "Conform to my Sunna. He who follows that shows that he loves me, he who does not is not a Muslim." The founders of the more modern Orders follow the special teaching of some famous theologian, who can show that his particular instruction was based on that of men of the earliest days of Islâm. Their declared object is, by their efforts and pious practices, to bring the faithful to the eternal blessing promised to all who walk in the "good way" revealed by Gabriel to Muḥammad, who has also given to the founders of the Orders all knowledge concerning it. The Shaikhs, therefore, can now lead the disciple on, step by step, to a pure and moral state, abounding in that spiritual perfection, which draws the creature to the Creator. Thus they maintain that their object in founding these Orders is the glory of God, the extension of Islâm, and the salvation of men. They claim to be able to lead their disciples on by successive stages to such a state that they attain, or at least approximate to, spiritual perfection.

Then a supernatural origin is also claimed for many of these Orders. The members glory in this, the masses of the people freely admiring^{the} Very often this is connected with the legend^{ing} about al-Khiḍr (Elias), who is said to have^{to have} the greatest saint of his age and to be^{ms, the} intermediary between God and the founde^{success}

Religious Order. As he did not die, he is supposed to be still actively employed and to give power to the religious devotee who attains to the dignity of Quṭb, a term to be explained later on. Owing to his miraculous translation, to his being transported from place to place by the spirit of God, to his investiture of Elisha with the prophetic office, it is said that al-Khiḍr still retains and exercises great influence with men who rise to a high order of saintship. To them he unveils the future, confers the gifts of blessing (baraka), and gives supernatural powers (taṣarruf). It is this supposed supernatural character of the inception of an Order which gives it its great influence. All the members of it participate in this blessing, and in the abundance of spiritual good, transmitted from the founder of the Order, who entered into secret and direct communication with al-Khiḍr and with the Prophet. The Shaikh of an Order almost always nominates his successor. He summons the chief Muqaddims and as many of the Murīds as he can conveniently gather together, and states that, after seeking the guidance of the Prophet, he has chosen a man who but maintain the traditions of their founder and serve unity of their Order. "Some, however, on the other hand, maintain that the Prophet made no regulation on the subject of succession to supreme power, and leave the election to the Muqaddims. In some

cases the candidate must belong to the family of the founder of the Order.”¹ In Constantinople certain Orders require the Sultán, or the Shaikhu’l-Islám, to confirm the appointment thus made.

The Muqaddims are persons of much importance, and great care is taken in their selection. As a rule only such men are appointed to this office who are acceptable to the brethren of the Order. One is placed in charge of each Záwiyah and is a sort of Abbot of a monastery. Besides these, other Muqaddims are placed in charge of the various missionary enterprizes, or are engaged in diplomatic business in the interests of the Order. In Turkey the Mufti at Constantinople has the right to confirm the appointment of these men, and the Shaikhu’l-Islám the power to remove one from his local charge.

Once or twice a year the Muqaddims meet in conference and consider questions relating to the well-being of the Order. The state of each Záwiyah is gone into, its financial condition is examined, and all matters of business are attended to. The Shaikh issues from the conference pastoral letters to the brethren. Amulets and charms blessed by him are sold.² New members

¹ Rinn, “Marabouts et Khouan,” p. 60.

² Chatelier writing of the Muslims in Western Africa says that they retain and use many of the pagan superstitions, charms and incantations. Hypnotism is also practised by

are admitted into the Order, and when all is done the members disperse, after receiving the blessing of the Shaikh. This meeting is called the *Hadrat*, a word which means the Presence. On his return home each Muqaddim holds a synod of the brethren of his *Záwiyah*. He entertains them at a feast, and then gives an account of the proceedings of the conference and reads the pastoral letter. After this is over, the brethren, one after another, salute the Muqaddim and deposit an offering on the tray placed before them. This synod is called *Jalál*, the Glorious.

I have already stated that these Religious Orders claim to be strictly orthodox. Innovation in the sphere of dogma is considered to be heresy of the worst kind. They can trace their belief back through a long succession of holy men up to primitive times. These men are honoured by distinctive titles, according to their standard of saintliness.

the religious teachers. Thus the practice of Islám, though not its doctrines, has been largely influenced by its environment. He adds, "In any case the only question is one of ritual. Islám which owes its success especially to its adaptability, has yielded in some measure to the customs of the country. But fetish beliefs have not been able to influence its doctrine, for they only exist as forms of ritual or as traditions, and have nothing of a philosophic character." (Chatelier, "*L'Islám dans l'Afrique occidentale*," p. 313.)

The highest rank of all is that of Ghauth,¹ a man who, owing to the superabundance of his sanctity and the influence of his merits, is able to be the sin-bearer of the faithful, without in the least endangering his own salvation. He is very often, therefore, called the Ghauthu'l-'Álam, or 'Refuge of the World,' or 'Defender of the World.'

Then come the men of the next rank who are called Quṭb,² or Axis. The title seems to imply that this saint is a centre of influence round which all the greatness and the real grandeur of the world revolve. He has attained to such a degree of sanctity that he reflects to the general body of believers the heart of the Prophet himself. The one most pre-eminent in his day is called the Quṭbu'l-Waqt—the Axis of the Age. He is the recipient of the special favour of God, by whom all the affairs of the lower and higher worlds are entrusted to him. All the Auliya', or saints, are subject to him. It is said that the founders of the Rifá'iyya, the Qádiriyya, the Ahmadiyya, and the Barahim Orders held this office, and that each one was the Quṭb of the age in which he lived. It is alleged that the Quṭb often appears in the world, but that men do not know him as such. He has certain favoured stations

where he appears, such as the roof of the Ka'ba in Mecca, one of the gates of old Cairo and other places. On his right and left there are two persons, called Umaná',¹ the faithful ones. When the Qutb dies, the Amín on the left hand side succeeds him; the Amín on the right passes over to the left, and his place is then taken by one of the Autád. It is believed that the Qutb can in a moment of time transfer himself from place to place; but he usually wanders about the world, awarding good or evil, as the destiny of the recipient may be, through the agency of Walis, or saints, subordinate to himself.²

The Autád³ is the name given to holy men of influence in a country, or is applied in a mystical sense to those who have attained to the stage of ma'rifat, the knowledge of God. The term has somewhat of the meaning of arkán, or pillars, in the phrase Arkán-i-Daulat—Pillars of the State. They are four in number.

There are five other persons called the Anwár,⁴ or lights, who succeed to vacant places amongst the Autád.

¹ Plural of أمين—amín, a faithful one.

² A good account of the superstitious notions which have gathered round the Qutúb is given in Lane's "Modern Egyptians," vol. I, pp. 290—4.

³ Plural of وتد—watd, a pillar.

⁴ Plural of نور—núr, light.

The next in order are the Shuhadá',¹ or martyrs of whom there are forty. They are sometimes called the rijálu'l-ghaib, or absent ones. Each day in the month they wander over a fixed portion of the earth, going over it all once in each month. It is believed that, if a person can on any day of the month ascertain where one of the Shuhadá' is, he can obtain from him spiritual aid.

Then come the Akhyár,² a term signifying excellent men. They are seven in number and are ever on the move, spreading the light of Islám.

Another class are the Abdál,³ the changeable. Their hearts are so purified that no vice dwells in them, and so they are said to be "changed." It is supposed that, in consideration of the merit these men have acquired, God still preserves and blesses the world. They are seventy in number, of whom forty reside in Syria and thirty elsewhere.⁴ When one dies God appoints a successor, but no one can recognize these Abdál and no one knows the exact place where they reside. This is known to God alone. On the day of judgment God will summon them to himself. It is said

¹ Plural of شهيد—shahíd, a martyr.

² Plural of خیر--khaiyir, a good man.

³ Plural of بديل—badíl, a substitute.

⁴ Some authorities give the number as forty, of whom twenty-two reside in Syria and eighteen in 'Irâq (Cambon, "Les Confréries Religieuses," p. 81).

that every morning they go to Mecca and report to the Qutb the result of their wanderings.

Then follow the Najib, who is an assistant to the Muqaddim, and the Naqíb or chamberlain; but these are ordinary human beings and need no description.

Walí, or saint, is a title given to a holy man after his death. These saints are highly venerated, and this reverence is based on a verse of the Qur'án: ¹ "Verily on the favourites of God no fear shall come, neither shall they grieve." The word for favourites is Auliyá', the plural form of Walí. They are supposed to possess the power of working miracles. Pilgrimages to their tombs are very common.

These various classes of holy men are said to exist to demonstrate now the authenticity of the Qur'án and the veracity of the Prophet. They are popularly supposed to have great influence over the course of events in the world. It is said to be by their blessing that fruitful seasons come round, that the earth yields its increase, that Muslims are victorious over their foes. This great power they gain by the care with which they observe the Sunna, or the traditions of the Prophet's words and deeds, and by the absolute abnegation of their own will and wishes.

¹ Súratu'l-Yúnus (X) 63.

The Shaikhs, or Grand Masters of the Orders, are very skilful in dealing with new converts, and show great discernment in adapting their instruction to the various classes of men with whom they have to deal. On some general points there is much strictness and sameness. All must absolutely obey the Shaikh, keep secret the affairs of the Order, and be loyal to it; but beyond that the teaching and discipline varies. A very religious-minded disciple is directed to observe the most minute details of the ritual acts of worship, a superstitious one has talismans and charms given to him. The mystic finds satisfaction in the religious ecstasy to which his devotions lead; the learned and philosophical are charmed with the religious speculations opened up to them; whilst the weak and oppressed find, as members of an Order, the support of a powerful association. The neophyte gains admission to and promotion in an Order very slowly, and only after a long ascetic training. At first he is only a Talmídh, a disciple; then a Muríd, an aspirant; then a Faqír, poor in the mystical sense. At this stage he learns that he possesses nothing, even his existence is as if it were not.¹ He now enters upon the *ṭariq*, or path, and sees visions and has supernatural

¹ A Tradition recorded on the authority of Málik states that the Prophet said, "the poor will enter Paradise before the rich."

revelations. Thus he becomes a Sálík, a traveller on the mystical road, but many pass on to still higher stages of life and become Majdhúb, the attracted—that is, they are powerfully drawn by God to Himself and are illuminated and inspired. The life of such an one is wholly spiritual and not material, and the outward rites of religion are no longer needed. He is so absorbed in the contemplation of God that he passes on to the state of tauhíd (unity), and is identified with the Supreme and so loses all sense of separate existence.¹ Not all Darweshes attain to these higher degrees; they are reserved for the few alone.

From all this it will be seen that the initiation of a novice is a matter of great importance.²

¹ There are thus four stages through which a Muríd may pass: (1) The Shari'at, or Law, in obedience to which he must live and the rules of which he must observe. (2) The Tariqat, or path. He may now abandon forms and ceremonies and enter on the mystical life. (3) Ma'rifat or knowledge. He now gains supernatural knowledge and is believed to be inspired. (4) Haqíqat or Truth. He has now reached the stage of unity and becomes one with God. Few pass beyond the second stage.

² "The following is given as a direction by the Shaikh Sanúsi. When the adept is a common man, he ought only gradually to be initiated in the precept; thus only the easy prayers should be taught him, until his soul is gradually fortified and strengthened. Then the instruction is increased by the addition of the invocations by the Prophet When the results of the practice of the dhikr and of profound faith have removed the impurity of the soul, and

The method differs slightly in some of the Orders ; but the chief ceremonies and the main principles underlying them have much in common. The aspirant for the honour must prepare himself by a fast, a spiritual retreat, prayer and alms-giving. After he has been instructed for some days in the general nature of the obligations he will have to bear, the novice is brought into the assembly of the Darweshes by two of their number and is introduced to the Muqaddim, or to the Shaikh if he is present. He then swears that he will be loyal to the Order and will yield absolute obedience to his spiritual superior. He next makes a full profession of the creed of Islám and repeats the names of the seven attributes of God. He is then admitted into the Order, and is taught the dhikr, or special form of prayer used by it. The whole assembly then recites the Fātiḥa, or opening chapter of the Qur'án, and the newly admitted brother receives from and gives to each of his brethren the kiss of peace. In some Orders the ceremony is soon over ;¹ in others it is spread over a long period

when with the eyes of the heart one sees nothing in this world and the next but the Only Being, then one may begin the full prayer." (Rinn, "Marabouts et Khouan," p. 90.)

¹ "The ordinary initiation is soon over. A dhikr easy to remember is learnt, an oath of obedience to the Shaikh and of the abnegation of all things for the benefit of the Order

of time. In the Mauláwiyya and the Baktásh-
 iyya and a few others, the novitiate extends to a
 thousand and one days, during which time the
 novice has to perform the humblest domestic
 duties, and is put to severe proofs to test his
 capacity for obedience and his spirit of humility.
 Absolute surrender of the individual will is neces-
 sary. Thus, "thou shalt be in the hands of thy
 Shaikh as a corpse is in the hands of those who
 prepare it for burial.¹ God speaks to thee through
 him. Thou art his slave and thou canst do nothing
 without his order. He is a man chosen of God.
 Banish from thy heart any thought to which God
 or the Shaikh might object." Another famous
 teacher says:—"In the same way as a sick person
 ought not to hide anything from his doctor, so
 thou mayst not conceal from the Shaikh thy
 thoughts or words or actions." "The image of
 the Shaikh must be ever present to the disciple."
 Amongst other means for destroying the sense of
 individuality the following is given in the details
 of the ritual of the Naqshbandiyya Order; "The
 being absorbed in the spirit of the Shaikh is profit-
 able only to him to whom the ecstatic state comes

is taken. The novice is henceforth bound to loyalty to the
 master, who becomes his sole guide in things temporal and
 spiritual, his intercessor with God, the controller of all his
 affairs." (Depont et Coppolani, p. 199.)

كون بين يدي شيخك كمثل الجسد بين يدي الغاسل¹

naturally. To attain that object, one must engrave in his own spirit the image of his Shaikh and look upon it as on his right shoulder. Then from the shoulder to the heart, he will draw a line along which the spirit of the Shaikh can come and take possession of his heart.”¹

Sometimes as part of the initiation the Shaikh touches the head of the novice and breathes into his ear the words *lá iláha illa'lláh*, which he has then to repeat one hundred and one, one hundred and fifty-one, or three hundred and one times. This is called the *talqín*. The novice then retires, spends much time in meditation alone, and falls into a dreamy condition. This is called *khilwat*. He has to report his dreams to the Shaikh, who then breathes a second time into his ear the words, *yá Alláh*, O God, and the other names of God. This goes on for forty days or so, when the novice becomes a *Muríd*, or disciple. “In the Egyptian branch of the *Khilwatiyya*, a woman is looked upon as an impure being. The Shaikh does not touch her, but holds one end of a cloth, the other end of which the woman holds.” In another Order, a simultaneous ablution is made. “The Shaikh or *Muqaddim* and the sister place their hands in a vessel of water and clasp their hands together. The face of the woman must be seen

¹ Rinn, “*Marabouts et Khouan*,” p. 286.

only by its reflection in the water. In the Raḥmāniyya Order the hand of the woman is not touched. It is sufficient if she recites after the Shaikh certain prayers of initiation. Sometimes the ends of a rosary are held by each.”¹

In addition to the duties involved in renunciation of the world, retreats, watchings and fasting, the Ikhwān² must observe the zīárat, the hadya and the dhikr. A zīárat is a religious visitation for the purpose of collecting funds when the revenue of the Order falls short. A regular assessment is made which the Muqaddim collects through the agency of the Chá’ush. The poorer persons suffer from this, often without a murmur, saying, “It is to God and not to man” we give. In Algiers the impost has been, with good results, regulated by the French Government; but in Morocco, where there are no such restrictions, the Muqaddim lays heavy burdens on the people. “The rapacity of the religious chiefs are a principal cause of the misery which permanently exists in most of the Muslim States. This is especially so in Morocco, where the representatives of the religious Orders abound.”³

¹ Depont et Coppolani, p. 199.

² “In Northern Africa they are called Khouan. In the East, Darweshes. The Qádiriyya Order keep the name Faqír (poor one). In the Tijániyya Order the members are called Aṣḥáb (companions).” (Ibid, p. 195.)

³ Rinn, “Marabouts et Khouan, p. 94.

The hadya is an expiatory offering made by the Ikhwán for the infraction of some rule, or the neglect of some duty. It is also a kind of tribute which the Muqaddim exacts from the chiefs of the local tribes and which few, owing to their fear of assassination or other injury, are bold enough to refuse.

The dhikr ¹ is a most important part of the daily life of a Darwesh. There are various forms of it. It may be recited aloud, in which case it is called dhikru'l-jali: or mentally or in a very low voice, in which case it is called dhikru'l-khafi. The Naqshbandiyya Darweshes adopt the former, the Chishtiyya and Qádiriyya Orders the latter. A dhikru'l-jali is as follows. The worshipper sitting down in the usual way shouts out Alláh; then, sitting as if for prayers, again in a louder voice says Alláh; then folding his legs under

¹ The origin of this frequent act of worship is to be found in Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 40. "O Believers! remember God with frequent remembrance and praise Him morning and evening"—

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ ذِكْرًا كَثِيرًا وَسَبِّحُوا بِحَمْدِهِ
وَأَمِيلًا

The commentator 'Abdu'lláh bin 'Abbás says that اذْكُرُوا means "Remember with tongue and heart;" and that سَبِّحُوا is equivalent to "say the namáz." The Darweshes say that كَثِيرًا, frequent, means the frequent repetition of the dhikr.

him he shouts yet louder Alláh. Then sitting again in the attitude for prayer he shuts his eyes and shouts lá, drawing the sound from his navel; then he says iláha as from the head; and lastly illa'lláh from the left side. All this is called a *ḍarb*, and is repeated hundreds of times on each occasion.

The Darwesh, who makes *dhikru'l-khafi*, closes his eyes, and then inwardly and slowly says, as if from his stomach, Alláhu Samí'un—God the hearer; from his breast, Alláhu Baṣirun—God who sees; from his head, Alláhu 'Álimun—God the knower.

He keeps on going over these names backwards and forwards, not audibly but mentally, saying them to himself in an ascending and descending scale. Then in a very low tone of voice, as if from his right knee and left side, he says Alláh: then he exhales breath and says, whilst so doing, lá iláha, and then inhales breath saying illa'lláh. This *ḍarb* is repeated hundreds of times and is most exhausting. By long practice a Darwesh attains great control over his breathing, and it is said of one man that, exhaling his breath, he used to say lá iláha—there is no god—at the midday prayer, and inhaling his breath, say illa'lláh—but God—at the afternoon prayer. Thus he breathed out continuously for, at least, three hours.

Sometimes there is also a meditation on certain verses of the Qur'án, as, "He is the First. He is the Last. The Manifest: The Hidden" ¹ "He is with you wherever you go" ² "We (God) are closer to him (man) than the veins of his neck," ³ "Whichever way ye turn, there is the face of God" ⁴ "God encompasseth all things." ⁵

The dhikr is said to produce union of the heart and the tongue in the act of saying the name of God, to cause the soul to recover its calm in the presence of the Shaikh. The mysterious virtue attached to the rite vanquishes evil desires. A Murid ought to say a dhikr three times in one breath and so impress it on his heart, which is thus kept constantly occupied with the thought of God. Similar exercises to the dhikr are the tasbîḥ, or saying subḥānu'lláh—holiness to God; the taḥmîd, or al-ḥamdu'lláh—praise be to God; and the takbîr, or Allāhu Akbar—God is great. Muḥammad is reported to have said that he who repeats the tasbîḥ one hundred times morning and evening will have all his sins forgiven. It is by the use of dhikr, by khilwat, or retiring from men for devotional purposes, by tawajjuh, or turning the face towards God devoutly in prayer, by the muráqabbah, or contemplating

¹ Súratu'l-Mujádilah, (lvii.) 3. ² Súratu'l-Mujádilah, (lvii.) 4.

³ Súratu'l-Qáf, (l.) 15.

⁴ Súratu'l-Baqarah, (ii.) 109.

⁵ Súratu'n-Nisá', (iv.) 125.

God with fear, by the *taṣarruf*, or mystical spiritualism, that the fervent Darwesh gains the spiritual internal powers, which enable him to subdue the will of others. It is said of two Shaikhs, in illustration of this, that one day they saw some wrestlers equally matched, and they determined to will that one particular man should gain the victory. He did so and then they willed that the defeated man should conquer, and in turn he did so. The mechanical repetition, consecutive and prolonged, of the few words in the *dhikr* naturally weakens the personal will of the Darwesh, and deadens his intellect. It produces a morbid state of mind in which he is easily and blindly led by the stronger will of his religious superiors. It maintains the habit of discipline and of submission. In fact, the whole system is now so developed that individuality is crushed out and the Order is exalted. The will of the Shaikh is absolute and all venerate him and implicitly obey his commands.

There are now altogether eighty-eight Religious Orders.¹ The first came into existence in the first year of the *Hijra* and the last was founded in A.H. 1293—A.D. 1876. It is said that the Khalifa Abú Bakr first called men to a sort of common life. A short account will now be given of a

¹ The names of the founders of these Orders, with dates, are given by Rinn in "*Marabouts et Khouan*," pp. 26—51.

few of the most important Darwesh Confraternities in their historical order.

The Şiddiqiyya Order takes its name from the word Şiddiq¹—the righteous—a title given to Abú Bakr, and it exists to this day in Yemen, in Egypt, and in small numbers in Algiers. Its chief principle is said to be the profound contemplation of the person and virtues of the Prophet. The result is that they say the Prophet appears to a Darwesh of this Order in times of difficulty, and in his hours of ecstasy. The joy of this is so great that it can be known only by experience. The religious exercises are continued by the pious members until the soul of Muḥammad appears to them in sleep and in their waking hours, to nourish them and to lead them on to heights of spiritual perfection.

The Uwaishiyya Order arose thus: in the thirty-seventh year of the Hījra, Uwaisu'l-Karání, who had lived the life of a recluse, announced that

¹ The Bistāmiyya, the Naqshbandiyya, and the Bak-tāshiyya Orders claim to have descended from the Şiddiqiyya community founded by Abú Bakr. The Uwaisiyya, the Adhāmiyya, the Qādiriyya, and the Sanúsiyya Orders connected themselves with the Khalífa 'Umar and also with the Khalífa 'Ali, to whom all the other Orders look up as their original head. Each Order has its silsilah, or chain of succession, up to one of these Khalífas.

An Order is always called by the adjective formed from the name of its founder.

Gabriel had appeared to him in a dream, and revealed to him the constitution of an Order to be started on strictly ascetic principles. Uwais carried his veneration for the Prophet so far as to extract his teeth, because Muḥammad had lost two at the battle of Uḥud. Uwais then required his followers to do the same. The Prophet had a great regard for Uwais and commanded that his own mantle should be given to him. It was made of wool with a collar and long sleeves reaching to the knee. It is said to be still preserved in Constantinople by a descendant of Uwais. Once a year it is carried in procession to the Old Seraglio. The mantles of the Darwesh Orders are made after the fashion of this—the Khirqa-i-Sharíf. The Uwaishiyya Order has not spread beyond Arabia.

The first Order with special rules and distinctive religious exercises is the Alwáníyya, founded by Shaikh Alwán in A.H. 149—A.D. 766. He was the first to make formal rules for the initiation of a novice and to regulate the duties of the spiritual directors and the Muríds. The whole system in its present form may be said to date from the time of this Shaikh.

The Bistámiyya Order was founded by a Persian about A.H. 261—A.D. 874 and traces its connexion up to the Khalífa 'Alí. Šúfi doctrines are taught in it. Abú Báyzíd Bistámi, its founder,

is looked up to as a saint by the Shaikhs of many of the most famous Orders.

The Qádiriyya, founded by 'Abdu'l-Qádiri'l-Jiláni, who died in A.H. 561—A.D. 1165, is one of the largest and most respected Orders.¹ Other Orders have arisen out of it. The banner and the turbans of this Order are white. A rose is worn in the cap. It is found in the northern parts of India on the one side and in Algiers on the other. As early as the fifteenth century it was introduced into Western Africa, by emigrants from Tuát. A settlement was formed at Walata, but being driven from that place the Order moved on to Timbuktu. The great revival of religion at the beginning of the nineteenth century, probably due to the Wahhábí movement in Arabia, stirred up the members of this Order to great activity. Shaikh Si Aḥmad ibn Idris, a man of great reputation, was then the chief of the Order. He sent in 1835 one of his disciples, Muḥammad 'Uthmánu'l-Amír Ghani, to the Nile region where he enrolled many Muslims in the Order and proceeded to Dongola and then to Kordofan. In the latter country he stayed until his death in 1853 and gathered many pagan tribes into the fold of Islám. These he formed into a new Order, called the Amírghaniyya.

¹ An excellent account of the founder is given by S. D. Margoliouth in the R. A. S. J. for April, 1907, pp. 267—306.

In their innumerable Záwiyahs the brethren of the Order place much trust in their mystical ceremonies and seek in the hallucinations of the ecstatic state to realize all their aspirations. This has been thus described:—"at each moment of the day and night their thought strives to cross space, to perceive the Unknown. Their lips repeat the dhikr revealed to 'Abdu'l-Qádir and, with half shut eyes and the rosary slowly moving between the thumb and forefinger, they invoke the Supreme Being, and listen to the beating of their hearts, as if they expected an inward revelation of the Divine spirit—the beginning of the beatific vision. Softly they rise and bow and make their ablutions, take a frugal meal and return to crouch in the same spot, still with the same tension of mind, awaiting the psychological moment when the divine breath will visit their purified minds."¹ On Friday they gather together in silence and concentrate their faculties on a single idea, the majesty of God. Seated in a half circle before the Shaikh or Muqaddim, with legs crossed and the fingers of the open hand spread on the knee, they recite in unison many hundreds of times the dhikr compiled by their great founder.

The dhikr of this Order is a very long one. The novice, however, on admission has only to add to

¹ Depont et Coppolani, p. 156.

the namáz, or five obligatory prayers, the repetition one hundred and sixty-five times of the creed, lá iláha illa'lláhu. One form used by the most spiritually advanced members is to recite the Fatihá with the intention that the reward for it shall go to the Prophet and to 'Abdu'l-Qádir; to repeat one hundred and twenty-one times the words, "O God, bless our Lord Muḥammad and his family"; then one hundred and twenty-one times "Glory be to God. Praise be to God. There is no god but He. God is great. There is no power except in the Lord Most High"; then one hundred and twenty-one times "O Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qádir, something for God"; then one hundred times Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi); then forty-one times Súratu'l-Jinn (lxxii); then one hundred and twenty-one times Súratu'n-Nasr (cx); then eight times Súratu'l-Fatihá; then once Súratu'l-Ikhlás (cxii); and finally three times the words, "God bless the Prophet."¹

All this must be done with great precision. The Shaikh gives the signal for prayer, controls and corrects the movements. Then slowly all turn their faces to the right and, with an admirable

¹ To each dhikr the following words are added:—

صلى الله سيدنا محمد النبي الامي اللهم and استغفر الله
Rinn, "Marabouts et Khouan," p. 184.

A special attitude in prayer is adopted by members of this Order. Ibid, p. 185.

cadence, say Alláh, then they turn to the left and say Alláhu, then they bow their heads and say Alláhi. They go on repeating this again and again, each time increasing the pace of their utterances, until wearied and exhausted the words die on their lips, they become almost senseless and feel a delirious vision filling their minds. They seem to catch a glimpse of Paradise and beside the throne of the Almighty appears their great Master, 'Abdu'l-Qádir, in saintly glory. This goes on year in year out until they think they reach the highest stage of absorption in the Divine. To the multitude they are as men gifted with supernatural powers, exorcists, visionaries, miracle workers, though in reality they are either self-deceived mystics with minds unbalanced, or pretended saints of doubtful character. These ecstatic practices were introduced into the Order by its founder. They are denounced by the 'Ulamá as contrary to the Qur'án and the Sunna and are looked upon as profane.

This Order is widely dispersed and is one of the most tolerant. It endeavours to get on with rulers and with men in high positions; it stimulates their charity and seeks their aid. The authority exercised by the Shaikh is very complete. At the time of the initiation of a novice, the Shaikh taking his hand and placing it between his arms, says:—"In the name of God

most merciful, most clement. I believe in God, in His angels, in His book, in His Prophet, in the day of judgment, in His decrees, in His favours, in His punishments, and in the resurrection from the dead." To this the novice replies:—"I am a Muslim, and I am confirmed in my worship and in my faith. I purify myself by a sincere repentance, from all my sins. I repudiate all heresy. There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is His servant and apostle. It is from him I receive admission into this Order. I take the oath of fidelity. I engage to obey all the divine laws, to do all things as in the sight of God, to accept what He may be pleased to send me and to thank Him for troubles which may oppress me." Other ceremonies follow and a long list of questions is put,¹ after which, when they have been satisfactorily answered, the novice is admitted into the Order.

All throughout the Western Súdán, a hundred years ago, small and scattered communities of the Qádiriyya were to be found. Then stirred up by a missionary spirit, they became active amongst their heathen neighbours and since that time have made great progress by their pacific propaganda. In fact, this Order and that of a more modern and a warlike one, the Tijāniyya, have been the principal agents in the extraordinary

¹ Rinn, "Marabouts et Khouan," pp. 190-196.

advance of Islám in the Western and Central Súdáns in modern times.¹ As-Sanúsi was once one of the members of this Order. 'Abdu'l-Qádir, its founder, is represented as being a man of large heart and charitable feelings, and his Order was founded "not only to improve by its mystical teaching the corrupt morals of Muslims, but also to relieve the miseries of men, to comfort the afflicted and to aid the very poor by alms." One of the Muqaddims of the Order has said that "if God had not sent Muḥammad to be the seal of the prophets, He would have sent 'Abdu'l-Qádir, for he, by his virtues and charity, most of all men

¹ This is confirmed by the latest writer on the subject, who writing in 1899 says :—"By the instruction which they give to their disciples, by the colonies they found on every side, the Darweshes multiply in the Súdáns their centres of action." (Chatelier, "L'Islam dans l'Afrique Occidentale," p. 254.) The Rt. Rev. Bishop Johnson writing in December 1902 of the city of Benin, says : "A Mosque has been erected there and the Muḥammadan call to prayer is heard and both there and at Warri and at Sapele proselytizing work is going on. Already some Benin young men have become Muhammadans" (C.M.S. Intelligencer, February 1903, p. 115.) The Synod of Western Equatorial Africa met on May 4 to 7, 1908 and amongst others passed the following resolution, "That the rapid growth of Muḥammadanism in the Yoruba country calls for serious and prompt action on the part of the Church." Speaking of the success of the Qádiriyya Darweshes in parts of Algiers, the French Súdán and Senegal, a French authority says of the converts :—"The apostles (Darwesh missionaries) become their masters spiritual and temporal, veritable princes and at the same time priests and warriors" (Depont et Coppolani, p. 311).

resembles Jesus Christ." He is called the Saint of Saints, the Quṭbu'l-Quṭúb, and the Ghauthu'l-Á'zam—the greatest defender. It is said that his soul hovers now between earth and heaven, and that God always answers his prayer made on behalf of others. No saint equals him in the power of working miracles, nor are such marvellous stories told of any other. The office of Shaikh is hereditary. If the son is a minor when his father dies, the Ikhwán appoint one of their number to act for him until he reaches the age of twenty.

The Rifá'iyya, often called the howling Darweshes, belong to an Order founded by Aḥmad ar-Rifá'i of Baghdad who died in A.H. 578—A.D. 1182 and was buried in the principal Záwiyyah of the Order, situated in a town in 'Iráq. He was a nephew of 'Abdu'l-Qádiri'l-Jílání and is considered to have been a theologian of great repute. The banners, robes and turbans of this Order are black.¹ The members of the Order make fires which they extinguish by rolling on the burning coals, and they even eat live coals and glass, and swallow serpents, or appear to do so. In Mecca their agents are active, and they are very hostile to Europeans. Lane describes a scene he witnessed in Cairo thus: "A Darwesh took a large piece of live coal, placed it between

¹ For the special prayers used by this Order, see "The Darweshes," by Brown, pp. 114-124.

his teeth, and kept it there; then drew it on his tongue, and, keeping his mouth wide open for two minutes, violently inhaled and exhaled, showing the inside of his mouth like a furnace and breathing out sparks. Having chewed and swallowed the coal he sat down, without apparently having suffered any pain.”¹

In the course of years these Darweshes have been scattered about in the East, and have formed distinct groups. In recent years the chief matter of interest connected with them is that there is a movement towards union amongst the scattered branches. This has been mainly brought about by the influence of Abú'l-Hauda, a great friend of the present Sultán of Turkey, ‘Abdu'l-Ḥamíd II. who has made the members of this Order and the grand Sharíf of Mecca agents in the recent pan-Islámic movement. “Under the powerful direction of Abú'l-Hauda the Rífá'iyya Darweshes seem to recover their spiritual homogeneity and become, at the same time, the sworn enemies of progress and civilization, the unscrupulous ex-ecutors of the designs of the Ottoman Porté.”² This gives the Order a political importance.

The Chistiyya Order was founded by Mu'ínu'd-

¹ Lane, “Modern Egyptians,” vol. ii, p. 190, see also vol. 1, pp. 305-7.

² Depont et Coppolani, p. 327. On the other hand, C. Snouck Hurgronje, whilst admitting that the centre of the

dín Chisti, who was born A.H. 537—A.D. 1142. He died in Ajmir in India. His tomb is a very favourite place of pilgrimage. He was a disciple of 'Abdu'l-Qádiri'l-Jiláni. The members of this Order are mostly Shí'ahs. They are fond of music and perform the dhikru'l-jali.

The Suharwardiyya Order was founded by Shahábu'd-dín as-Suharwardi, who died in Persia about A.H. 623—A.D. 1226. The majority of its followers are still found in Persia, but its influence has been felt elsewhere. The teaching of as-Suharwardi was highly mystical and dealt with the deeper aspects of Súfiism. Now, it is not so much an Order as a school of mystic philosophy which has had a great influence on the teaching of many of the African Orders and fosters the growth of fatalism amongst them.

The Shádhiliyya Order was founded in A.H. 656—A.D. 1258, and is spread through most Muslim lands. It flourishes in Egypt and in Algiers. It has given rise to many branches which now form separate Orders. Its doctrines are held by almost all the modern Orders. The Sanúsiyya are affiliated to it. A famous teacher Abú Madian al-Andalusia, who was born in Seville

Pan-Islámic movement is in Mecca, does not think that the Grand Sharíf and his assistants play any great part in it. He also thinks that the influence of the Religious Orders in this matter is over-rated ("Revue de l'Histoire des Religions" tome, quarante-quatrième, p. 281.)

in A.D. 1127, a disciple of 'Abdu'l-Qádirí'l-Jiláni, brought the mystical teaching of his master into Northern Africa, whilst his disciple, 'Abdu's-Salám taught it in Western Africa. He too had an earnest follower, Sidi Abú Ḥasanu'sh-Shádhil who, carried on the propaganda both in Northern and Eastern Africa and in Egypt. Abú Madian added to his great knowledge of mysticism, a modesty of manner and a ready eloquence which helped to make him one of the most influential men of his age. The early chiefs of the Order, worthy disciples of their great master, took little interest in worldly affairs, diligently disseminated his teaching and were really the heads of a mystical philosophical school. One of the instructions of Shádhil was "obey your Shaikh before you obey your temporal sovereign." Abú Ḥasanu'sh-Shádhil, a man of great reputation as a mystic, moralist, jurisconsult and theologian gave his name to the Order. He was born in A.H. 593. He was a good example of a Muslim mystic and his followers were looked upon as excellent Súfis. He said to his disciples, "You will not smell the odour of sanctity until you are detached from the world and from men. He who desires glory in this world and in the next should accept my teaching. Then he will reject from his heart all that is not God, will seek nothing, will love nothing but God. Hear him who calls you to

peace, not him who calls you to battle. God has given me a register in which my companions and their disciples are enrolled and will be sheltered from hell-fire.' He was known in Morocco and his popularity so influenced the 'Ulamá of the University of al-Azhar in Cairo that he was looked upon as the spiritual Master of confraternities in Mecca, and wise men and philosophers of both these cities highly regarded him as an eloquent doctor, an incomparable master.

When he died he left no heir. He appointed no successor, but the brethren retained his name and the Shádhiliyya soon occupied the front rank of the existing Orders. In the course of time it gave rise to many other Orders which form distinct groups, tinged, however, with the mysticism of the older one. Some of them have made practical changes, and devote less time to mystical studies and more to practical ones; but they now form a very great social and religious power.

The Mauláwiyya, often called the dancing Darweshes, are the most popular Order in the Turkish Empire where they are known as the Mevlevi Darweshes. There are no Záwiyahs of this Order in Algiers. These men are famous for their music and their mystic dance, which consist chiefly of whirling round and round. This is said to represent the revolution of the

spheres and also the circling movement of the soul, caused by the vibrations of its love to God. They say their prayers in silence, standing up and turning round from east to west. Their religious performances are to be seen in Constantinople and in Cairo. The Order was founded by Maulána Jalálu'd-dín Rûmî who died in A.H. 672—A.D. 1273. It is a very wealthy Order. There is in it a singular union of austere practices, political obsequiousness to the Sultán, and frivolous ceremonies.¹ The Shaikh of the Order must be a descendant of its founder. The office is hereditary and so the marriage of the Shaikh is obligatory.

The Naqshbandiyya Order was founded by Muḥammad Behá'u'd-dín Naqshbandí who died in Persia in A.H. 719—A.D. 1319. He was a man of learning and piety and a Şúfi. At first he did not wish so much to form an Order as to gather together an association of religious people, who might meet for prayer without much outward show or special rites. He held that "The exterior is for the world; the interior for God";² but the association grew into a very large and important Order which is found chiefly in Central Asia and in Turkey, but is little known in

¹ For a full account of the dances, see Brown, "The Darweshes," pp. 199-201.

² الظاهر للخلق الباطن للحق

Africa. It attracts men of high social position and of learning. They generally perform the dhikru'l-khafī, or silent devotions, and are moderate in their mysticism. In addition to this each member must daily recite the istighfār, or prayer for forgiveness, once; the salāmat, or prayer for peace, seven times; the Fātiḥa seven times; Súratu'l-Inshirah (xciv) nine times; Súratu'l-Ikhlās (cxii) once, and then the appointed dhikr an indefinite number of times. The conformity of its teaching to that of the Khalífa Abú Bakr, the dignity of its outward ceremonial, the high class of persons affiliated to it are amongst the causes which give this Order a very high place in the esteem and regard with which other Darweshes look upon it.

The important Orders, the Qádiriyya, the Rifá'íyya, the Mauláwiyya and the Shádhiliyya, were formed at a time "when, through the influence of Ghazālī, Súfiism had won for itself a secure and a recognized position in the Muḥammadan Church. Orthodoxy was forced to accept the popular saint-worship and to admit the miracles of the auliya', although many Muslim puritans raised their voices against the superstitious veneration which was paid to the tombs of holy men, and against the prayers, sacrifices, and oblations offered by the pilgrims who assembled."¹

¹ Nicholson, "A Literary History of the Arabs," p. 93.

The Qalandariyya,¹ or wandering Darweshes, were founded as an Order by 'Alī Yūsuf Qalandari, a native of Spain,² who died in A.H. 724—A.D. 1323. He was a disciple of Jalálu'd-dín Rûmî and of Hájî Baktásh and was also, for a while, a member of the Chistiyya Order which he afterwards left and founded an Order of his own. He travelled much and finally settled down at Panipat, where pilgrimages are made to his tomb. The statutes of the Order oblige its members to live on charity, to be always on the move, and not to amass wealth for themselves. They are practically Šúfis. The Order exists in India, Persia and Turkey. Their dhikr contains a prayer for the founder and certain passages from the Qur'án,³ repeated many times, and concludes with the durúd, a prayer for blessing on Muḥammad and his family, which is said twice. The Qalandar Darwesh is a well known character in Eastern tales.

¹ The word Qalandar is also used for a man who need not be connected with an Order. He may be a sort of unattached wandering friar. Suharwardi says that they are persons possessed of an intoxication, which they call peace of heart and that they are men who totally disregard the ordinary rules and customs of society.

² Some authors say he was born at Panipat in Hindustan.

³ The Fātiḥa, or the opening chapter, of the Qur'án; Súratu 'Alī 'Imrân, ii. (256), three times; Súratu't-Taṭfif, (lxxxiii), three times; Súratu Yūsuf (xii), ten times: then the durúd (prayer for Muḥammad and his descendants) twice.

The Baktáshiyya Order was founded by Háji Baktásh, who died in A.H. 738—A.D. 1337, and is famous in Turkey owing to its connexion with the Janissaries.¹ It is very popular with the army still. The symbol of the Order is the mystic girdle which is put on and off seven times. The Darwesh in so doing, says:—I tie up greediness and unbind generosity; I tie up avarice and unbind piety; I tie up anger and unbind meekness; I tie up ignorance and unbind the fear of God; I tie up passion and unbind the love of God; I tie up hunger and unbind (spiritual) contentment; I tie up the influence of Satan and unbind the influence of the Divine.

The symbolical number of the Order is twelve, and so each of its communities contains twelve elders, to whom special duties are assigned. The esoteric doctrines held by these Darweshes are a curious mixture of pantheism and materialism and are thus described, "Each human soul is a portion of divinity which exists only in man. The eternal soul, served by perishable mediums, constantly changes its dwelling without quitting the earth. Morality consists in enjoying the good things of earth without injury to any one, whatever causes no ill to a person is lawful. The wise man is he who regulates his pleasures, for joy is a science which has degrees, made known

¹ Ante, p. 5.

little by little to the initiated. Contemplation is the best of all joys, for it belongs to the celestial vision.”¹ Orthodox Muslims now look with disfavour on this Order. This has been attributed to the influence of the Ḥurúfí sect² amongst the Baktáshíyya Darweshes. In 1871-2 some Baktáshís published a Ḥurúfí work which was severely condemned by the orthodox ‘Ulamá. Gibb says that the Ḥurúfís were antinomians who, believing themselves to be identical with God, looked upon the moral law as not binding upon them. He adds, “such beliefs may lead to no practical evils so long as they are confined to saints and sages; but when they are proclaimed openly to all classes of society, and when, in addition, the promised Paradise is declared to be here in this present world and the Hourí-brides to be none other than the beauties of earth, the flood gates of social anarchy have been flung open. Here we have the real explanation of the relentless hostility shown towards the Ḥurúfís.”³ This sect originally Persian is now unknown in Persia. It exists in Turkey and is strong in Albania, where, it is said, the Baktáshíyya Order

¹ Rinn, “Marabouts et Khouan,” p. 37.

² For an account of this curious sect, see articles by Professor Browne, R. A. S. J., January 1898, pp. 61—94; R. A. S. J., July 1907, pp. 533—40; also Gibb, “Ottoman Poetry,” vol. I, pp. 338—42; 353—5; 373.

³ Gibb, “Ottoman Poetry,” vol. I, p. 387.

has also eighty thousand lay members, supposed to be more or less connected with the political disturbances in that region.

The initiation of a Baktáshíyya Darwesh is made in secret. He is deprived of nearly all his clothing to show that he makes a voluntary sacrifice of the world and its wealth. With a rope round his neck, he is led into the assembly and, as a slave, begs the Shaikh to pardon his sin. He then goes through the ritual of initiation. The Shaikh whispers in his ear the secrets of the Order which he is charged most solemnly never to divulge. A special sign is made known to him by which all the members of his own Záwiyah, or Takya, can recognize him.

The origin of the Khilwatiyya Order is traced to Brahimu'z-Záhíd, who lived about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., but it was brought into notice by Si Muḥammadu'l-Khilwatí and still more especially by 'Umaru'l-Khilwatí, who died in A.H. 800—A.D. 1397. In Turkey and in Egypt he is looked up as the practical founder of the Order. Influenced by the ascetic practices and the doctrines of the Qádariyya Order, he fasted long and lived in strict retirement (khilwat). The practice of holding "retreats" is still kept up as a custom derived from the Shaikh. In the Záwiyahs of the Khilwatis there are a great number of cells where the brethren shut themselves up for stated

periods, often for forty days, in solitary seclusion for contemplation and prayer. The sense of hunger, thirst and isolation disappears; the idea of existence vanishes, and they say their souls are rapt in the contemplation of the Divine. In imagination they hear the voice of God and see the angels who are near to him. The ultimate goal to be desired is the annihilation of individuality by the absorption of the individual into the essence of God. They pray for the welfare of all Muslim people and in Turkey and in Egypt for the State that it may be preserved from all temporal evils.

In the eleventh century of the Híjra, a number of the Khilwatiyya Darweshes went forth from their Záwiyah in Egypt and built many monasteries amongst the ruined ones of Christian monks. They settled in Persia, Arabia, Khurdistán, Turkey, Syria and Northern Africa. Many other Orders have branched out from this one.

The initiation of a neophyte is long and to him the great merit of solitude is highly extolled. It is said that the Prophet in speaking to 'Alí laid great stress on this habit and that, through a long line of men, this teaching of Muḥammad was handed down to the Founder of the Order. The Tradition is that one day 'Alí said to the Prophet, "which is the shortest way to the knowledge of God?" He replied, "repeat daily the name

of God in solitary places, such is the virtue attached to the invocation of the name of God." "In what position shall I make the invocation?" "Close your eyes and say after me 'There is no god but God' three times." 'Alí did this and thus the sanctity of the idea of solitude came down to the Khilwatiyya leaders, who to the present day have maintained intact the doctrines and practices of the Founders of their Order. They observe this solitude with all its rigours, they keep long and exhausting fasts, they repeat the dhikr unceasingly in solitude with a special posture of the body and head. The old Persian pantheism appears under the veil of Súfiism. The oath of allegiance to the Shaikh is a strict one and is rigidly observed. Intellectual freedom is crushed out, the mind is enslaved. Such is the inward condition. Outwardly there is systematic opposition to political and social progress, persecution of those who touch, or endanger, the temporal power of the Order which, from its wide-spread influence and the sanctity which has gathered round it, owing to its prolonged periods of meditation in the darkness of seclusion, is a great antagonistic element to the cause of civilization and enlightenment. "The very secrecy with which much of their worship is done tends to produce in men animated by the same passionate sentiments

this retrograde political spirit. They have stirred up trouble in Egypt and many of them joined the Mahdi in the Súdán.”¹ It is largely recruited from pilgrims of an ascetic tendency who come to live in the sacred cities of Mecca and Madína.

The Orders more recently formed are to be found in Timbuktu, Algiers and Morocco. They are, generally speaking, offshoots from the older ones, especially from the Shádhiliyya. I give some account of the more important ones.

The Bakayiyya Order has its centre in Timbuktu. It was founded by Aḥmad Bakkay, who died in the year A.H. 960—A.D. 1552. It is an offshoot from the Shádhiliyya Order and has much influence south of Morocco. It is entirely in the hands of the Marabout family of Bakkay. In former years its members extended the religion of Islám to the extreme south of the Ṣaḥára and now the Bakkayís are in many tribes the real political and spiritual rulers.

The Shaikhiyya Order was founded in A.H. 1013—A.D. 1604. It is named after Sid ‘Abdu’l-Qádir Muḥammad, known as Sidi Shaikh. He was a lineal descendant of the Khalifa Abú Bakr. It is not so distinctly an Order as others are, but rather a confederation of individuals, often disagreeing among themselves, but united in one

¹ Chatelier, “Les confréries Musulmanes du Hedjaz, p. 74.

common bond of regard for the Sidi Shaikh, and for the spiritual teaching of Ḥasan ash-Shádhil. It is powerful in the southern part of Algeria and its influence is now more political than religious. The distinguished lineage of its Founder, and the character of many of its leaders, who as Marabouts died in the odour of sanctity, have greatly increased and maintained the reputation of the Shaikhs. At present the aims of its leaders seem to be directed less to the religious good of their followers, than to the maintaining, for temporal and political ends, all the superstitious notions and practices of the Marabouts.

The Karzáziyya Order was founded in A.H. 1016—A.D. 1607. The founder, a member of the royal family of Morocco, had been a Muqaddim of the Shádhiliyya Confraternity. He taught his followers to reject reason as it was a guide to error, to place absolute confidence in the Shaikh, to meet death boldly and to be ever ready to fight in the cause of God. The leaders adopted an ascetic life and assumed a voluntary poverty. This caused them to be held in great esteem. The Muqaddims are chosen by the members of the Order. It is spread over the east and south of Morocco. Shaikh Mulai Karzáz, the founder, was a patron of the Berbers and of the nomadic tribes. His Záwiyah at Karzáz was an asylum for the poor and for those who were oppressed

by the warlike Tuwáriq Tribes. His successors follow his kindly example and so this Order is highly esteemed by the common people. It has kept the favour of the Sultáns of Morocco and has also maintained friendly relations with the French. Its members are scattered over the Šahára and the Order, if hostile, could from its head Záwiyah, situated near to Tuát, give much trouble.

The Taibiyya Order was founded by Mulai ‘Abdu’lláh, who died in A.H. 1090—A.D. 1679. The first Záwiyah erected was at Wazzán where the chiefs of the Order are buried and which is now a place of pilgrimage. The Sultán of Morocco hoped that this Order, founded by a member of the royal family would be a great support to his dynasty. The Order is named after its second Shaikh, Mulai Taib, a man of austere life, devoted to the interests of his Confraternity. Converts were numerous from the negroes, who became henceforth free from the danger of slavery. The Order is inclined to be political in its aims. The dhikr is long and complicated. Such sentences as, “I implore the mercy of God, the Almighty; I celebrate the praises of God; O God! give thy blessing to our Lord Muḥammad, his wives and descendants; There is no god but God and Muḥammad is the apostle of God” are repeated hundreds of times in a day. The very pious members

of the Order make over four thousand recitations daily. The leaders are careful not to offend men in authority. It is said that some Sultáns have been affiliated to it. The neophytes swear that they will render implicit obedience to the Shaikh and obey all the rules laid down for their guidance. Every year inspectors go forth from Wazzán to look into the affairs of the different Záwiyahs, to strengthen the weak, to stir up the zeal of all and to collect money.

The Order has cultivated friendship with the French, whilst still remaining devoted to the cause of Morocco. The Shaikh 'Abdu's-Salím in 1876 wished to be declared to be a citizen of France and was an admirer of European civilization. He married an English lady, a governess in the family of a gentleman in the diplomatic service, and sent his sons to be educated in a Lycée at Algiers. He took no part in the opposition to the entrance of the French into Tuát, or to their occupation of the surrounding country. Still, the interests of the Order with Morocco is very strong and a French writer says: "We ought not to lose sight of the possibility of enormous difficulties to our interest from the Taibiyya Order in Algiers, Senegal and Morocco, should its Shaikh become hostile to our authorities." They are said to be rather unfriendly, at least in appearance, with some of the other Orders,

such as the Qádiriyya, the Tijániyya and the Darqáwiyya, though this does not prevent their working with them when an occasion calls for it.

The Hansaliyya Order was founded by Sayyid ibn Yúsufu'l-Hansali, a native of Morocco who died in the year A.H. 1114—A.D. 1702. It is another offshoot of the Shádhiliyya confraternity. The founder was connected with a Berber family. After the pilgrimage to Mecca, he studied for awhile at the al-Azhar University in Cairo; but the toil and fatigue he had to undergo in his long journey home made him forget all he had learnt. So he led an ascetic life, and spent a long time in constant devotion at a shrine of a famous saint, with the result that his memory returned to him and his vocation was revealed to him by God. There are many legends about the marvellous things that happened to him on his journey. The influence of this Order is very great amongst the Berbers of the Atlas Mountains, a people of an independent spirit, fanatical and warlike. In addition to the dhikr, the Ikhwán recite some portions of a famous poem on the ninety-nine names of God. It is said that, if the Darwesh who recites any one of these verses is not in a state of complete moral purity, he exposes himself to the divine displeasure. On the next page I give a translation of a few verses on ten of the names.

- O Pardoning God, I cry to Thee,
Thy pardon to implore.
- O Sovereign Lord, subdue thro' me
Whoe'er subverts Thy law.
- Thy glory, Glorious Being, doth
My feeble strength increase.
- O Thou who humblest in the dust,
Cause lying tongues to cease.
- Knowledge and understanding give,
O, Giver of all, to me.
- Sustainer, for my sustenance
I look for ease from Thee.
- The souls of all Thine enemies,
O Seizer of spirits, seize.
- O Scatterer of gifts, increase desire
In beauty's devotees.
- O Humbler, humble Thou the power
Of all who Thee oppose.
- O Thou who raisest, raise me up
In spite of these my foes.

سألتك يا غفار غفرا و توبة
و بالقهر يا قهار خذ من تحيلا
بعزك قدرى يا عزيز معزز
مذل فكن للظالمين مذكلا
و هب لى يا وهاب علما و حكمة
و للرزق يا رزاق كن لى مسهلا
و يا قابض اقبض روح كل معاند
و يا باسط النعم زدنى تجملا
و يا خافض اخفض قدر كل معارض
و يا رافع ارفعنى على رغم من قلا

The doctrines of the Order are similar to those of the Shádhiliyya, but Hansalí introduced many austere practices and exacted rigorous penances. The mystery which surrounds their teaching made these Darweshes a dangerous secret association in constant conflict with the Turks until the French occupied Algiers. Since then, they have been loyal to French rule but there are only five Záwiyahs in Algeria. The prestige of the Order is high and its leaders have a renown for the devotions and habits peculiar to Darwesh saintliness. This is, perhaps, the reason why the amulets they prepare have a great reputation for preserving the wearers in safety in times of accidents. They are scarce and difficult for a foreigner to obtain. Those who carry them believe that they will be preserved from evil and that all their enterprises will prosper. Should it be otherwise, then their faith must have become weak or some impious hands must have touched their charm, for its supernatural power is considered to be beyond dispute. One of the most famous charms worn is to protect the wearer from danger in battle. The following words may be written on such an amulet, "O God, if any one stirs up against the bearer of my present writing any manner of evil, smite off his head. Restrain his evil heart, bridle his tongue and turn away his cunning. O God, let the bearer of this

writing be in Thy safe-keeping, within Thy favour which never faileth. Thy safeguard is a strong tower; Thy protection is mighty; Thy power irresistible. I seek shelter with Him that hath power and might and lordship." Various invocations and passages from the Qur'án are also written.

Another amulet is worn as a protection against the evil eye, always a source of dread to the superstitious. After reciting the praises of God, these words find a place in the charm, "Let these be for a hindrance to my enemy, the frowning forehead, the dazzling flame, the dark night, the smooth sword, the dry rock. O God, tear forth his eye who would curse therewith, snatch the evil thought from his forehead and the word from his tongue. Let his mischief fall upon his own head, upon his goods and on those most dear to him."

Another charm contains these words, "In the name of God, the merciful, who sitteth on the throne before which kings bow their heads. The eyes of conquering nations have been closed in the presence of the believers; they hear not, they see not. O God, ruler of the mighty, of the proud nations, of the peoples of old, smite with fearful punishment the man who hath concerned evil against me. O Thou who smotest the elephant and sentest against them birds to cast on them

stones marked with the signet of heaven,¹ with Thee we take refuge, for from Thee cometh forth victory. O unconquerable conqueror overthrow him who has plotted against us. O thou who bearest this writing, I strengthen thee as God did the Prophet Muḥammad."

There is much more written than the brief extracts which I have given. The charms all contain ascriptions of praise to God, curses on the supposed enemy, protection from evil and the assurance of safety from the special evil against which the particular charm is supposed to guard. The authority to prepare and the power to distribute them adds not only to the renown and the influence of the Shaikhs, but is a lucrative source of income.

The Tijániyya Order was founded in A.H. 1196—A.D. 1781 by Aḥmad bin Mukhtár bin Salámu't-Tijání, who for a time was a student in the important Muḥammadan University of Fez. After-

¹ A reference to the invasion of Arabia by the Abyssinians who brought an elephant with them, a circumstance so remarkable that the invasion, the army and the year are known as that of the "elephant." According to Hishámí and Wákídí, the army perished from an outbreak of small-pox, but the Qur'án ascribes it to a miraculous divine interposition, "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the army of the elephant? Did He not cause their stratagem to miscarry? And He sent against them birds in flocks; clay stones did they hurl down upon them, and He made them like stubble eaten down" (Súratu'l-Fíl [cv] 1-5.)

wards, in A.H. 1186, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he astonished the theologians by his erudition and knowledge. Five years after he returned to Fez and the idea of founding an Order began to take shape in his mind; but Fez was a place too much given up to political and religious strife for such an attempt, and so he moved further south. In due time he announced to a small body of devoted followers that the Prophet had directed him to form an Order, different to all others.¹ For instance, no member of it was permitted, under pain of the severest penalties, to become affiliated to another Order. An earnest propaganda followed and the Order soon became exceedingly powerful in Tunis, in the Sāhāra, the Western Sūdān, and even as far as Timbaktu. The chief Zāwiyah was, in due time, located in Fez under the patronage of the then Moorish Emperor. The Order has been a militant² as well as a teaching one. Ḥājī 'Umar, one of its leaders, in 1833 went to Bornu and then

1 "The Prophet appeared in great splendour and said, 'Abandon all the ways thou hast pursued. Be my vicar upon the earth. Proclaim thy independence of the Shaikhs, who have initiated thee into their mystical doctrines. I will be thy intercessor before God and thy guide before the believers, who will be inspired by thy counsels and will follow thy way.'" (Depont et Coppolani, p. 416.)

2 For an account of its wars and for a detailed account of Ḥājī 'Umar's work, see Chatelier, "L'Islām dans l'Afrique Occidentale," p. 167.

to the Hausa country. He was a man of great vigour, of considerable learning and very fanatical. He reproached the ordinary Muslims with their ignorance and their apathy. Even the Qādiriyya were too tolerant for him. Later on, under his influence and by means of his military expeditions many converts were made and the Order extended its operations from Senegal to Timbuktu, and as far south as the hinterland of Sierra Leone.¹ The kingdom he thus set up soon became divided into various smaller ones, but the influence of Islām remained. Thus, this Order, a result of the active revival of Islām at the end of the eighteenth century, has done more to advance the cause of Muḥammadanism in Western Africa than any other has accomplished, and it is still a living power. "From the mouth of the Senegal to Lagos, over two thousand miles, there is said to be hardly any town of importance in the seaboard in which there is not, at least, one mosque, with active propagandists of Islām."² Since the establishment of French influence in the Senegal and in the Niger regions the political power of the Tijāniyya has declined. The European occupation of these regions may stay any further political influence and development, but so active an Order

¹ Chatelier, "L'Islām dans l'Afrique Occidentale," p. 176.

² Blyden, quoted by Arnold in the "The preaching of Islām," p. 277.

may yet give trouble, and its religious influence is not likely to decrease under the more settled conditions of these lands.

The two Orders, the Qádiriyya and the Tijániyya have played the chief part in the propagation of Islám in the Western Súdán.¹ Under the Qádiriyya the propaganda was by peaceful methods. By the instruction its leaders gave to their disciples, by the colonies they founded, they multiplied in the Súdán their chief centres of action. The Order is widely scattered. Its members are found as far south as Sierra Leone and in the Upper Niger regions, "The whole religious movement in the Eastern Súdán also has been directed by the influence of the Qádiriyya Darweshes since the first half of the nineteenth century."²

The Tijániyya, as we have seen pursued opposite methods and, so long as they had power, won their way by force. Chatelier speaks of them as "ardent aux guerres saintes" and of the Qádiriyya as "pacifique et debonnaire."³ It is, however, said that of late years the Tijániyya Order has pursued peaceful methods more regularly, and that it is now loyal to the French Government and readily assists French travellers in the Şahára.

The Raḥmáníyya Order was founded by another native of Morocco, Si Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'r-

¹ Chatelier, "L'Islám dans l'Afrique Occidentale," p. 318.

² Ibid, p. 166.

³ Ibid, p. 166.

Raḥmán, who died about the year A.H. 1208—A.D. 1793. He was for a while a student in the al-Azhar College in Cairo. After this he travelled and preached in many lands. Thus his fame as a saint, renowned for his miraculous powers, preceded his return to his native land. After his arrival there, great numbers flocked to hear his preaching and to receive his instruction. This led to the formation of the Order, which soon became a powerful proselytising association among the Kabyle tribes. The fatwás of the ‘Ulamá, given at the instigation of the Turkish authorities, who feared this rising power, were unable to check its growth. At present, the Raḥmāniyya Order is said to be disunited by the internal rivalry of its chiefs and to have thus lost much of its early religious spirit. It has now become a politico-religious society, by no means indifferent to temporal advantages, and which is still powerful enough to require careful observation.

This Order has great influence in the western Súdán. It also has in Algeria one hundred and seventy-seven Záwiyahs, and eight hundred and seventy-three Muqaddims and one hundred and fifty-six thousand members. In the chief Záwiyahs the Ikhwán keep up, by means of relays day and night, the repetition in a loud voice of the name of God.

The ceremony of the initiation of a Darwesh

into the Raḥmāniyya Order is given as follows. The Shaikh takes the right-hand thumb of the neophyte and says to him, shut your eyes and say after me, "I seek refuge with God against Satan the stoned. I ask forgiveness of God. Let us return to God and to His messenger and renounce sin. God of the worlds forgive the past and make us better in the future." The Shaikh then tells him to be silent and says three times, "There is no god but God," which the person to be initiated also repeats three times. Then both together they repeat the Fātiḥa and invoke the aid of the Prophet and of the founder of the Order. The disciple is then directed to obey God and the Prophet and to say, "There is no god but God," three hundred times after the morning and the after-noon prayer respectively. From the after-noon prayer of Thursday till that of Friday in each week, the Darwesh must say, "O God, let thy favour rest upon our Saviour Muḥammad, his family and his Companions and grant them salvation." The afternoon prayer of Friday must conclude with a prayer called al-ʿUmmi (the unlettered), "O God, let Thy favour rest on our Saviour, Muḥammad the unlettered Prophet, his family and his Companions." This prayer should be repeated twenty-four times when God will remit the sins of twenty-four years. The neophyte is then exhorted to practice the duties of brotherhood,

to be resigned and to repeat the dhikr of the Order faithfully. He is told that entrance into the ranks of the brotherhood is like entering into the ark of Noah or into the home of Abraham, and that all who did this obtained salvation, and so will he in the Order to which he is now to be admitted.

The Darqáwiyya Order was founded by a Sharíf of Morocco, Mulai al-‘Arbi ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasanu’d-Darqáwi at the end of the eighteenth century. He preached the doctrine of absention from worldly affairs and, during his life time and that of his successor, the Order kept clear of all political entanglements; but about the year 1840, a fanatical and ambitious man, Si ‘Abdu’r-Raḥmán Túti became the leader. Since then many of the brethren have discarded the views of their first Shaikh and hold quite opposite opinions as regards their relation to worldly affairs. “Most of the brethren appear inoffensive: in reality they are very dangerous, we may look upon them as the precursors and initiators of the Sanúsiyya.”¹ In Morocco the Order is now distinctly political in its aims and is in full sympathy with the more turbulent tribes. Its members are said to have been largely concerned in many insurrections. “In all the rebellious movements in Algiers and Morocco, we have found the hand of these

¹ Frisch, “Le Maroc,” p. 191.

frightful sectaries, these men in rags, these puritans of Islám, these fanatical Darweshes." ¹

The Darqáwiyya Order is now in North-Western Africa what the Wahhábis were in Arabia. They will not submit to any yoke and are always in rebellion against constituted authority whether of Arabs, Turks or Christians. In 1888 one of its leaders proclaimed a jihád, or sacred war, against the French. In the opinion of the Turks the term Darqáwí is synonymous with the word rebel. The chief Záwiyah is at Ferkla, about a day's journey north-west of Tafilet.

The richer members of the Order content themselves with going to the Friday prayers, the offering of the hadya, the recital of the special dhikr and occasional re-unions in the Záwiyahs. In their outward life they can hardly be distinguished from other Muslims. Other members, originally from the mountain tribes and poorer classes pass their lives in wandering from place to place, chanting the Qur'án and begging for their daily subsistence. They wear the khirqa, a mantle composed of many different pieces, sewn together without any order and often torn as a sign of humility. The investiture of a neophyte with the khirqa is looked upon as a matter of great importance. It is the sign and seal of the admission to the Order.

¹ "Depont et Coppolani," p. 504.

The Madániyya Order is influenced by the same spirit of intolerance which is characteristic of the Darqáwiyya Darweshes. It was founded about 1820 by Muḥammad ibn Ḥamza al-Madání, a member of the Darqáwiyya Confraternity. It very soon attained to a position of influence in Tripoli, where in the head Záwiyah of Misrata numerous proselytes were trained. The Shaikhu'l-Madání professed to teach the doctrines of the Shádhiliyya and of the Darqáwiyya Orders, but his son and successor, Shaikh Ja'far, gradually modified these and adapted his teaching to the principles which underlie the pan-Islámic movement, of which he was one of the originators. He has ever since been one of its most ardent supporters. His treatise "The shining light," published in Constantinople in 1885 contains a full exposition of his teaching. In addition to the usual dissertations on the Unity of God (tauḥíd) and on mysticism (taṣawwúf), such as the Shádhiliyya leaders would give, there is a political section bearing in the direction of pan-Islámism. Shaikh Ja'far soon obtained the favour of Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, who found in him a most useful agent for the propagation of a doctrine so dear to himself. A home was founded for the Shaikh in the palace of Yildiz Kiosk near to his imperial master, to whom he stood in the relation of grand chaplain. There are three Madániyya Takyas, or Záwiyahs,

in Constantinople. The Shaikh sends forth his Darweshes into all parts. They seek to inspire the Shaikhs of the various other Orders with their political propaganda. To the Shádhiliyya they appear as teachers of their doctrines, to the Darqáwiyya as ardent reformers, to the 'Ulamá and to men unconnected with any Order they extol the power and dignity of the Sultán as the Khalifa of Islám. In this way they ingratiate themselves with a great number of people and gain much influence. They keep alive a spirit of restlessness and encourage the hope that all Muslim lands will be freed from the yoke of the infidel, and will be reunited under one great theocratic rule—the Empire of the Khalifa. They are the stern enemies of real progress and owe much of their power to the protection of the Government. In Algiers they find recruits among the Musalmáns employed by the French. They endeavour to win them over to their views and to employing them as secret agents. There are two Záwiyyahs in Algiers. In Morocco the Order has not much influence. Its connexion with the Turkish Government is known, and this discredits it because in Morocco the claim made by 'Abdu'l-Ḥamid to the Khalifate of Islám is not acknowledged. They have a few Záwiyyahs there but their Muqaddims have little influence, and probably remain in Morocco chiefly

as spies. In other parts of Africa and in the Hedjaz they are active and powerful. The rapid development of the pan-Islámic movement owed very much to the zeal and administrative skill of Shaikh Ja'far and his disciples of the Madániyya Order. In some places, especially in Barka, the members of this Order have been absorbed in the still more dangerous one of the Sanúsiyya.

I have now given a brief account of some of the older Orders and of some of the more modern ones, which owe their existence to the great wave of religious revival which, stimulated no doubt by the Wahhábi movement in Arabia, passed over the Muslim communities in Africa and led on to an active propaganda. Islám as a theocratic system does not recognize the limitations made by political influences between the various Muslim peoples, dividing them into different States, and so these Orders, common to all lands, can at any time and everywhere exercise a very real influence in any direction which their leaders may choose.

For many centuries Islám has prevailed not only on the northern coast of Africa but has progressed in the interior. Still, the great advance is to be dated from the end of the eighteenth century, or the beginning of the nineteenth, and has been mainly due to the increased energy and devotion of the Religious Orders. The whole hinterland from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, as

far south as six degrees north latitude, and the country on the eastern side of Africa down to the Portuguese territory is now more or less under Muḥammadan influence. Islám has passed also from the Súdán into the equatorial regions. It extends from two centres. From the west it has gone along the Atlantic coast to Senegal, Timbaktu and the Hausa land. From the eastern side the modern movement began when Sī Aḥmad bin Idris, the Shaikh of the Qádiriyya Order, sent out missionaries, during the early part of the nineteenth century. They won over the Muslim Nubians who then joined this Order in large numbers and, after this, missionary work began amongst the pagans of Kordufan. This work was afterwards carried on under the influence of the Mahdi, and is now sustained by the great Sanúsiyya Order. These two currents, sometimes more warlike and fanatical; at other times more social and commercial, are advancing rapidly into all the pagan regions. The presence of the officials of the great European Powers in Senegal, Timbaktu, Nigeria and other parts may have a deterrent effect on this expansion, for trade will no longer be in the hands of Muslim merchants, who, to their credit be it said, are active Missionaries. One article of commerce also, that of slaves, will no longer exist. It has, however, been pointed out that the improved means of communication,

which follow on orderly rule in Africa, in one way facilitates the Muslim propaganda. "Muḥammadan North Africa is advancing surely and steadily southwards across the Ṣaḥāra, which is no longer the barrier it once was. Instead of being an unbroken desert, as once thought, it is now known to contain teeming pagan tribes. A great range of mountains has hitherto proved an obstacle to advance, and Muḥammadanism has been kept in check, but with the partition of Africa amongst the Powers of Europe has come a new danger. The old mountain-passes are now being crossed by roads, and the existence of a protective government is encouraging a new activity. The Qur'ān is being brought down amongst the pagan tribes and is prevailing. When once claimed by the Muslims these tribes will be ten times more difficult to reach with the gospel."¹ Another point is that the Arab slave-dealers have been overthrown and thus the action of the civilized Powers has taken away from Islām a great reproach, which the pagans who were asked to become converts could urge against the Muslim missionaries.

Amongst the earlier agents of this extensive movement are the Fulahs, the most superior race in the Western Súdán. They are strict

¹ The Rev. T. Broadwood Johnson, "C. M. S. Review," June 1908, p. 354.

Muslims and under Shaikh Danfodio, about a hundred years ago, became a powerful kingdom, warlike and aggressive. They spread to the west and to the south, won many of the Hausa people to Islám, made Sokoto, in 1837, the capital of a Muḥammadan State, then advanced as far as the Yoruba country and built the large city of Ilorin. Four large, important kingdoms in Senegambia and the Súdán represent the result of the energy infused into the Fulah people by Shaikh Danfodio.¹ The very rapid growth of Islám amongst inferior races is not wholly due to its acceptance of a low moral standard. Its faith is based on pride rather than love. The Muslim convert prides himself on his superiority as a believer in the one true religion and is scornful of all other men and all other creeds. The pagans then see and desire to emulate this haughty condescension and, as such a position can only be obtained by conversion, they very easily accept the religion of Islám. Each new convert displays the same feeling of superiority and so, with increasing and rapid force, the religion spreads where it has no higher form of faith and morals to contend against. It is natural to every man

¹ It is said that he prophesied that his green flag would be the passport to victory for a hundred years. If this is so, his words have come true, for the decision that the Fulah country should become a part of the British Empire was made in 1900.

to desire to become the equal, if not the superior, of others, and when a pagan realizes this fact he is well on the way to become a Muslim. The Muslim missionary finds easy access to an uncivilized negro tribe for, as Sir Bartle Frere said, "he can at once communicate the shibboleth of admission to a social and political communion, which is a passport for protection and assistance from the Atlantic to the wall of China. Wherever a Moslem house can be found there the negro convert who can repeat the dozen syllables of his creed, is sure of shelter, sustenance and advice, and in his own country he finds himself at once a member of an influential, if not of a dominant caste. This seems the real secret of the success of the Moslem missionaries in West Africa." ¹

At the same time the rapid proselytism, so vigorously carried on by various Darwesh Orders really hinders all sound progress in the long run. It elevates a pagan race to a certain level. It puts away some vices, such as cannibalism and infanticide, but teaches the converts that slavery, facility of divorce and polygamy are divine institutions, set forth in God's latest revelation and enforced by the command and example of his latest prophet. The convert is taught that this system is perfect and final and he is thus fixed at this low

¹ Quoted by Arnold, "The Preaching of Islám," p. 286.

stage of moral life. He has no discontent and, where that is absent, desire of improvement or of a higher life is rarely found. Reform implies imperfection in Islâm and that no Darwesh teacher will admit can be the case. The very pride in it which leads men to accept it keeps it stationary. To admit that any other people are the equals of Muslims, or that any creed can possibly be favourably compared with that of Islâm is heresy of the worst kind and, wherever Islâm is predominant, would raise up a fanatical spirit of opposition. The Darwesh propaganda in Africa is then neither for the well-being of humanity, or for the prospects of civilization. Two French writers, men who are by no means narrow in religious views, have said, "It is impossible, when comparing the present state of Africa with its former state, not to see how evil the influence of Islâm has been, and not to desire that it may shortly give place to a political system less limited and less demoralising."¹ "The mystical and merciless doctrines of Islâm are the absolute enemies of all progress. The East remains immobile."²

To return, however, to the Fulahs, it must be borne in mind that they never thoroughly occupied the country. They held the larger towns but never subjugated the pagan tribes in the moun-

¹ Ganniers, "Le Maroc," p. 87.

² Frisch, "Le Maroc," p. 47.

tainous regions. A Fulah army left a district where it operated a depopulated desert. Every form of handicraft, every pursuit in life was taxed so heavily that decadence soon set in. "Bribery, corruption and extortion marked the so-called administration of justice, whilst the multiplication of harems and the growth of a large class of idle princes led to nepotism and imposition of tax after tax to meet the necessities of the rulers and their idle sons and relatives. No man's life was safe; common people were killed without compunction; notables were removed by poison or secret murder. Trade was paralysed by extortionate levies and rendered difficult by the insecurity of the roads." ¹

The Fulah dynasty as a dominant power could not have lasted much longer, for the country was being denuded of its population and enormous tracts of land had gone out of cultivation. The overthrow of this evil rule is a great gain to civilization and humanity. Sokoto, the capital of the Fulah Sultānate, was easily captured by a British force in March 1903, and the empire founded by Shaikh Danfodio amongst the Hausas of Nigeria came to an end. A few months after the Sultān and many of his Emirs lost their lives in the defence of one of the towns. If the spread

¹ "Blue Book on Northern Nigeria." No. 409, 1903, p. 20.

of Islám amongst pagan races had really conferred all the blessings some persons claim for it, if the Fulah rule had been of any real service to the country and its people, then the easy conquest of the Sultán of Sokoto would have been impossible; but it was a cruel, despotic rule and slave raids had rapidly depopulated the country. Fifty years ago the traveller Barth estimated the population at fifty millions. This was probably too high, yet the fact that now there are not more than ten or twelve millions shows the ruthlessness of Muslim rule in this fair land. Chronic disorder and constant warfare has been the distinguishing mark of Fulah rule, and this has led to the hatred of the still unconverted pagans to their late rulers. Had they been loyal to the Sultán, it would have been impossible for a few British officers, with a small body of trained and disciplined native troops, to have overthrown a comparatively powerful ruler and his government. Islám under Fulah rule failed to make the pagan people happy, peaceful or prosperous, and so it justly came to an end.

The most recent and, indeed, the chief present propaganda is carried on by an Order which surpasses all the others in its power and its influence: an Order, which specially sets itself against all western and modern civilization and is absolutely hostile to all progress, whether it comes from an European or from a Musalmán source. It thus

constitutes a very real danger.¹ It is that of the Sanúsiyya, founded by SÍ Muḥammad bin SÍ ‘Alí bin Sanúsí, who was born in the year A.H. 1206—A.D. 1791. He belonged to a noble family and claimed to be descended from the Khalifa ‘Alí, the son-in-law of the Prophet. The name by which he is usually known is that of Shaikh Sanúsí. He was a native of Algiers, where he spent the early part of his life. At the age of thirty he went to Fez, and for about seven years studied Muḥammadan law and theology under the most famous teachers there. In a Záwiyah of the Taibiyya Darweshes he became acquainted with the philosophy and the mysteries of the Shádhiliyya Order. He then returned to Algiers just before the French occupied that country. Whilst there he wandered about as a religious teacher and so spread his views amongst a number of people. After a while he made up his mind to proceed on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and took the opportunity of conversing with learned men at the several places at which he stayed on the way. He was also initiated into some of the Religious Orders. He intended to make a stay of some length in Cairo, in order to study at the famous Theological College of al-Azhar; but, in some way

¹ “The predominant fact in the evolution of Islám at the present time is the formation of the new Order of the Sanúsiyya.” (Chatelier, “Les Confréries Musulmanes,” p. 12).

or other, he gave offence to the more influential 'Ulamá attached to the College, who denounced him as an innovator in religion, a fatal fault in so conservative a place. The result was that Shaikh Sanúsi had to proceed on his way. He, however, gives quite a different reason for his departure. He says that one day, when he was making the usual waḍu, or ceremonial ablution, before engaging in the namáz, or stated prayers, in the Mosque attached to the College, he saw a man who looked mean and poor. The man who was quite a stranger, thus spoke: "Why dost thou do so with me, O Sanúsi?" "How do you know my name?" He replied: "I am the Quṭb of the age." "Then," said Sanúsi, "it is thou I am seeking." The man said to him: "Thou hast nothing to do with me, go to Mecca." In after years, it suited Shaikh Sanúsi to show that he left Cairo owing to a supernatural direction, and not that he was expelled as a troublesome student. But, whatever was the cause, he did go, and proceeded on his way to fulfil his original intention of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. As his mind had already been directed towards the life of a Darwesh, when he arrived at Mecca he placed himself under the tuition and spiritual guidance of Shaikh Aḥmad bin Idris, the Shaikh of the Qádiriyya Darweshes. Owing to some local disputes Shaikh Aḥmad was exiled from

Mecca. His devoted pupil and follower went with him, and on the Master's death in 1833 claimed, though opposed by some others of his followers, to be his successor. This led to a division in the Order, the result of which was that Shaikh Sanúsí, having induced many of his fellow Darweshes to join him, formed a new Order, of which he assumed the headship. He then commenced an active propaganda in Yemen, but the members of the older Orders looked upon his work with disapproval and successfully opposed him. However, he remained in Mecca from 1835 to 1843 gathering men around him and developing his plans. He called his teaching the Ṭarīqatu'l-Muḥammadí, or "Way of Muḥammad," and said that his community was a reformed branch of the great Shádhiliyya Order. He now gave his own Order the name of Ṭarīqatu's-Sanúsí, or "Way of Sanúsí." Men in the position he had now assumed profess to have special revelations from God and to be divinely directed in their movements: so not finding sufficient scope in Mecca for his plans and purposes, he one day announced to his disciples that Muḥammad had appeared to him and had ordered him to leave Mecca and to settle his disciples in Záwiyahs in many different lands. This he did most effectually. In course of time, Záwiyahs were established in Arabia,

Egypt, the Central Súdán, Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, Senegambia and even in the Eastern Archipelago. The rapid extension of this Order has been marvellous. There is nothing like it in the modern Muslim world. With its extension its power also has increased. Shaikh Sanúsí, after settling his course of action, soon gathered a large body of disciples together, over whom he exercised a most rigorous discipline. Whilst displaying administrative abilities of a very high order, he continued his theological studies and became a prolific writer on religious subjects. M. Duveyrier says, that there are three million members of the Order; but the Sanúsís themselves say there are eight millions. Probably there are five or six, for the inhabitants of Wadai, now nearly all Sanúsís, number almost three millions.

The 'Ulamá are nearly always hostile to the Darweshes, and Shaikh Sanúsí very soon learnt that his growing influence stirred up a spirit of jealousy. The 'Ulamá of Constantinople, Cairo, and Mecca were all ranged in opposition to him. A Muftí of the Málíkí school of jurisprudence, named Abú 'Abdu'lláh Muḥammad, who died in 1881, published in Cairo a book containing fatwás against Shaikh Sanúsí and his master Shaikh Aḥmad bin Idrís. One fatwá condemns the reluctance of Shaikh Sanúsí to admit persons into his presence, his absence from public prayers on

Friday, which is described as an impious habit, and the use of a number of ritual practices which differ from those of the Málíkí rite. One act objected to was the crossing of the arms on the breast and the holding of the fist of the left hand between the thumb and first finger of the right when engaged in prayer. The Málíkites pray with the arms at the side of the body. The fatwá also refers to his abandonment of the four orthodox rites and of his accepting without an intermediary the prescriptions of the Qur'án and the Sunna, that is, he did not follow the rulings of the four great Imáms, Ḥanífa, Málík, Sháfi'í and Ḥanbal. Such conduct is said, "to constitute the strongest proof of his ignorance."

To this fatwá, which shows the hatred of the 'Ulamá, the Shaikh might have replied in the words used by his Master, Aḥmad bin Idris, "the interpreters of the Qur'án do not keep us from error. There are numerous interpretations at variance with the Traditions." As a matter of fact Shaikh Sanúsi claimed to be a restorer of the early and pure faith and practice of Islám, before it was, as he considered, corrupted by the Mujtahidún and 'Ulamá, the official interpreters of the canonical law and of theology. Whatever effect this fatwá had in Mecca and in Cairo, it had none whatever in the districts controlled by the Sanúsis or amongst the Bedouin or with

the nomadic tribes of Tripoli and the central Súdán.¹

In consequence of the opposition of the 'Ulamá, Shaikh Sanúsí in the year 1855 withdrew altogether from their spheres of influence, and in the oasis of Jaghbúb² in the Libyan desert, midway between Egypt and Tripoli,³ founded a Záwiyah which became the head-quarters of the Order. The site was well chosen. It is situated about one hundred and fifty miles south of Tobruk, a Mediterranean port used by the Sanúsís, and occupies a commanding position on the great caravan routes of North Africa. "It is at once a fortress and a convent, a university and a shrine." Except to modern artillery it is an almost impregnable place. It possesses a fine mosque and many buildings. It grew rapidly after the conversion of the people of Wadai, of whom many came as students or as labourers. It was a place to which tribute of ivory, slaves and ostrich feathers were sent by many chiefs,

¹ For the full fatwá, see Depont et Coppolani, pp. 546-51.

² جغبوب. Sometimes the plural form جغبابيت is used. It is better known by Europeans as Jarabub.

³ "Tripoli, nominally Turkish, but practically under the rule of the Sanúsiyya Confraternity is dangerous ground, into which France with her experience of this powerful and highly organized Muḥammadan sect, on the border land of the Ṣaḥára and Algeria itself, may well hesitate to enter." Silva White, "The Expansion of Egypt," p. 123.

and to which, from harbours little known, great stores of warlike material were brought. Pilgrims on their way to Mecca stayed to worship and to receive a blessing. This place, in which matters of the greatest moment to Africa were planned, has been jealously guarded from European travellers, of whom not one has ever been able to tread its streets, or look upon its walls. Neither Turkish nor Egyptian officials had any authority in it. The Shaikh was an absolute ruler.

The transfer of the capital in 1895 to the Kufra oasis, a movement to be described later on, has lessened the importance of Jaghbúb, which is now little more than the university of the Order. Jaghbúb was not only the administrative centre, but was also the theological home of the Order where hundreds of its missionaries were trained as teachers and preachers and then, year by year, sent forth in large numbers to proclaim the doctrines of Islám in all parts of Northern Africa. The names of all the brethren of the Order were carefully entered in the record books kept there. It is said that its theological school had seven hundred pupils. The Order of the Sanúsiyya is more than an organization to reform what its leaders consider to be lax in Islám; it is a powerful proselytizing body. The isolation of the desert life at Jaghbúb, and the freedom gained

from the opposition of the 'Ulamá and orthodox Mullás and Maulavis gave Shaikh Sanúsi that peace and tranquillity which increased his spiritual influence over his followers. Soon after his arrival there, he began work amongst the negro races. He purchased slaves from those nomad tribes who in the internecine wars of their respective territories had after a victory taken them as prisoners, or had acquired them by successfully pillaging slave caravans. Shaikh Sanúsi brought these slaves to his Záwiyah, placed them under religious instruction for a time, and then, when fitted for it, sent them to their own countries as free men and as preachers of Islám. They became and remained his most faithful followers.

Shaikh Sanúsi died at Jaghbúb in the year A.H. 1276—A.D. 1859 and was buried in that place. His mausoleum in the great mosque there is a very magnificent one and it is common for his followers to make pilgrimages to it instead of to Mecca. Though little known in the Western world, he was one of the most remarkable men of the age. No obstacle checked him. He astonished the educated by his knowledge, he won the populace by his skilful adaptation of his teaching to their needs, by the fervour of his methods and the fame of his miracles. He made the fetish tribes from lake Chad to the Mediterranean take a long step forward in political and economic

activity and in religious knowledge; but with all this he roused a deeper spirit of fanaticism and a greater hatred of all non-Muslim people. He thus placed a barrier to any real enlightened progress for the African races. The highest level has been attained and any departure from it would now be considered a mark of offence against God.

Without shedding blood or calling in the aid of any temporal ruler, by the energy and force of his character he raised up in the Ottoman Empire and its adjacent lands a theocratic system which is independent of any political Power. His great object was to restore the original Islám and to revive what he conceived to be the religious and moral laws of the Prophet. This being the attitude of his mind, he naturally opposed all modern innovations in Turkish rule and life, and wished to raise an impassable barrier against European civilization and the influence of the Christian Powers in Muslim lands. He had been influenced by the earlier Wahhábí revival, for he followed that sect in some of its rigorous prohibition of many harmless things, whilst he kept aloof from its bold opinions.¹ At the same

¹ Though there are many points of resemblance between the Wahhábís and the Sanúsís, they differ in the matter of pilgrimages to shrines. The Wahhábís forbid them, the Sanúsís encourage them.

time, with all this stiffness of thought and life, he, as the head of a Darwesh Order, introduced a mystical element into all that he taught.

Shaikh Sanúsí was succeeded by his son, 'Alí bin Sanúsí,¹ a lad then of about thirteen years of age, who by European writers is also called Shaikh Sanúsí, but by Muslims and his own followers Shaikhu'l-Mahdí. In order to distinguish him from his father, I shall speak of him as the Shaikhu'l-Mahdí, or simply as the Shaikh.² He had no connexion whatever with the late Mahdí in the Eastern Súdán. He and his brother Si Muḥammad Sharíf were both very young when their father died, being respectively fourteen and thirteen years old, but Shaikh Sanúsí had wisely appointed some of the ablest Muqaddims to be their tutors and guides, and so the administration went on as usual and the lads gradually gained experience. In due course the Shaikhu'l-Mahdí took the administrative oversight of the Order, whilst his brother, who died in 1895, looked after the religious teaching. His follow-

¹ His full name is Si al-Mahdi bin Si Muḥammad bin Si 'Alí bin Si Sanúsí.

² In 1902 it was reported that he had died in Kanem, his most recent acquisition. Nothing is known as to the character of his successor; but it is not likely that there will be any change in the plans and purposes of the Order, which is too far committed to a fanatical policy to make a change of leadership materially alter its methods or objects.

ers, or at all events the more ignorant amongst them, looked upon the elder brother as the coming Mahdí, who was expected in the thirteenth century of Islám, a period of time which expired in the year 1882. In support of their expectation they said that he bore between his shoulders the indubitable sign of his designation to some high office, a round bluish spot, such as that which had, according to Muslim belief, appeared on the bodies of Moses, Christ, and Muḥammad, the three great leaders of the prophetic order. Their belief has not been verified, but whilst it lasted it added power and prestige to the rule of the Shaikh.

The Grand Council of the Order used to meet, annually, on the great feast day, known as 'Idu'l-Aḥhá, at Jaghbúb, under the presidentship of the Shaikh, who was in this work assisted by his brother and his councillors. Two of the latter held the office of Wazírs. One was in special charge of the Záwiyah at Jaghbúb, while the other superintended the affairs of all the other Záwiyahs. The organization is very simple. The Darweshes live in the various Záwiyahs, each of which is under the charge of a Muqaddim to whom the members must yield implicit obedience. There were in 1886 one hundred and twenty-one different Záwiyahs, all subject to the one at that time situated in Jaghbúb, in which there used to be

about four hundred Darweshes, gathered from all parts.¹ Most of them were unmarried, and so were ready at a moment's notice to go anywhere the Shaikh might direct them to proceed, or to undertake any duty he might call upon them to perform. A hundred negro slaves did the household work and attended to the gardens. The inmates of the Záwiyah were well armed, and a large reserve of guns and ammunition was kept in stock. Five pieces of artillery had been purchased in Alexandria and were kept ready for use. A certain number of artificers and workmen lived outside the Záwiyah. One day the Shaikh was asked whether all this warlike display was against the French or the Turks. "Neither against the one nor the other," said he. "My father began a work which had great results. I simply carry it on." Taxes are levied at the rate of two and a half per cent on capital exceeding one hundred and twenty-five francs, and extraordinary contributions are sometimes called for from the possessors of treasure, warehouses and cattle. The Order itself is rich in slaves, houses, sheep and camels, the latter being branded with the name of Alláh. Whenever the delegates of the Shaikh visit the brethren in the subordinate Záwiyahs they receive offerings. The

¹ Duveyrier, writing in 1886, gives this number of Záwiyahs; but there must be many more now.

poorer brethren, who cannot pay the taxes, are employed in building Záwiyahs, in attending to the gardens and cattle and in carrying despatches. For the latter purpose a system of couriers was organized, by means of which communication between Jaghbúb and distant Záwiyahs was easy and comparatively swift. The Shaikh was thus kept well informed of all that was going on. The probable arrival of a stranger at Jaghbúb was known before he came near to it, and, unless he had something in the shape of a passport from a Muqaddim, he was subjected to a very strict examination before he was allowed to have any intercourse with the Darweshes. If all was satisfactory, the Shaikh might after some days accord him the privilege of a personal interview; but, as his person is looked upon as sacred, such interviews were very rarely granted.¹ In order to ensure secrecy, the orders of the Shaikh and of the Muqaddims sent by letter are nearly always written in a vague and impersonal form. Thus a letter from Mecca to Jaghbúb reads: "Your servant whose writing is known to you. Its super-

¹ This was one of the things denounced in the fatwá, referred to on page 86. It says, "The pretensions put forward that the action of shutting himself up and of not receiving visitors, except at particular hours and then only after repeated demands for an audience constitute the way (*taríq*) of the Šúfis are simply lies," ("Depont et Coppolani," p. 548).

scription is also a little known. By the grace of God Most High may it arrive at Jaghbúb and may it be referred to the lords of the brothers. God keep us in peace. Amen. Under the invocation of Bedoub."¹ In the salutation at the beginning of a letter no name is ever mentioned. Conventional terms are used to disguise the purport of the correspondence, and great care is taken to ensure the safe delivery of letters.

The Muqaddims have much influence over people who are not actual members of the Order, and who have not taken the calling of a Darwesh upon them. In some parts the people hold their lands by a kind of feudal tenure, and are practically the vassals of the Order. The principal person in such a district is not the Turkish Mutaşarrif, but the Sanúsí leader, and the chief work of the Turkish officials is to keep the members of the Sanúsiyya Order contented. It is said that 'Alí Kamáli Pasha, sometime Governor of Barca, looked upon himself, first, as a humble servant of the Shaikhu'l-Mahdí and, secondly, as the high official of the Ottoman Empire. The most active centre of its influence was, until the removal to the Kufra oasis, the peninsula of Barca, nominally belonging to the Ottoman Empire, really to the Shaikhu'l-Mahdí. Thus the Sanúsís

¹ The meaning of this is not known outside the Order: it is probably a kind of talisman.

occupied the most fertile part of Tripoli and the Sultán did not dare attempt to expel them. Some Turks have, indeed, become brethren of the Order, but just as in Syria with the Druzes and in Khurdistan with the Khurds, so here the Porte is obliged to compromise and to conciliate men over whom it has no power of control. It is said that the Shaikhu'l-Mahdí could command the services of twenty-five thousand men as foot soldiers, and of fifteen hundred mounted men. In the north-eastern part of Africa, excluding Egypt, a very common form of oath used by the people is to swear by "al-Haqq Sidi as-Sanúsí," that is, "by the truth of Sidi as-Sanúsí."¹ In addition to these volunteers, there are the regular Darweshes and a large number of slaves always available when fighting men are needed. Shaikhu'l-Mahdí did not commit the error of neglecting the masses. A Muslim traveller, if found worthy of it, receives hospitality in any Záwiyah he may be near; and, if he is intelligent, he receives much attention from the Muqaddim. In this way the Order has become very popular.

In the annual conference held formerly at Jaghbúb, and now at al-Istat, the Shaikh, assisted

¹ "If a Bedouin of these parts swears: 'May I be excluded from the Záwiyah, if,' one may be sure he is speaking the truth." (Silva White, "From Sphinx to Oracle," p. 123.)

by his Muqaddims, examines the temporal and spiritual condition of the Order, and discusses with them plans for the future, especially as regards the extension of their influence. In their propaganda work they seek to influence men of position, and pay much attention to the education of the young. In provinces long subject to Islám, such as Egypt, where they wish to reform the religion, they generally commence by opening schools, and trust to time for the gradual spread of their views. In this way they are able each year to consider the operations of the Order as a whole, and the success they meet with is extraordinary. For example, they went first to Farfara, an oasis in the Lybian desert, in the year 1860, and in less than thirteen years they completely changed the character of the people and acquired valuable property. One very favourite method of reaching a new tribe was to purchase the slaves taken from it, and after teaching Islám to them to release and to send them back as preachers to their own people. In this way much success was met with in the Wadai country, the Sultáns of which have been and are ardent admirers of the Sanúsís. The first object of the Shaikhu'l-Mahdí was the conversion of the Chief, by showing him the advantage, primarily to himself and then to his people, of the establishment of commercial relations with the Sanúsiyya Order. The Sultán

of the Wadai country, 'Ali bin Muhammad, soon became an enthusiastic follower of the Shaikhu'l-Mahdí. At his decease in 1876, the succession to the Sultánate was disputed, and it shows the enormous influence the Sanúsís had then obtained, that they were able to stop the internecine conflict and to secure the accession of the candidate they preferred. The new Sultán then elected became a loyal subject, and held his office as a tributary to the Jaghbúb Záwiyah. To the north-west of Wadai, there is a State called Ennedi, which has now become a vassal one. In 1855, the people of that country were all pagans, in 1888 they had all become Muslims, and the chief had been admitted as a member of the Order. He used to send to Jaghbúb not only rich presents, but the choicest of his young men to be fully trained and instructed under the personal direction of the Shaikhu'l-Mahdí. In fact, the whole region round lake Chad is more or less under Sanúsí influence.

To the north-west of lake Chad lies an inhospitable desert, in the midst of which, about five degrees south of Jaghbúb, is the great oasis of Kufra. The large Záwiyah of al-Istat in this oasis is the second in importance of all the Záwiyahs, and for many years was looked to as a probable future asylum in an almost unapproachable region. The move thus anticipated

actually came to pass in the year 1894 or 1895 when the Shaikhu'l-Mahdí, with many of the wealthier residents of Jaghbúb, left that town for Kufra, a half-way resting place for caravans going to and fro from Wadai to Benghazi and thus, from a strategical point of view, an important position.

Although, at present, the Turks hold Tripoli, their power does not penetrate into the interior, the districts of which are entirely in the hands of the Sanúsís. About the time of the Fashoda incident, the Shaikhu'l-Mahdí made an important movement in the hinterland of Tripoli. In March 1899 the Anglo-French agreement was made, defining the respective spheres of influence between the two countries in North Central Africa. It was then found that the Sanúsí country lay entirely within the French sphere. Since then the Sanúsís have extended westward into Kanem. The *Patrie* of June 19, 1902, reported that on the 20th of January a body of French Súdánese troops inflicted a severe defeat on the Sanúsís and the Tuwáriq Berbers in the lake Chad district.¹ In the spring of 1908 the French had again to send an expedition to this region.

The hatred of the Sanúsís to Muslims who

¹ "The Tuwáriq Berbers are a very bigotted race and are largely under Sanúsí influence." (King, "Search for the Masked Tuwareek," p. 147.)

submit to the political supremacy of the Christian Powers, or who would effect a compromise with western civilization, is so great that good Muslims are exhorted to leave such countries as Turkey and Egypt. This naturally arouses hostility against them and so, in order to avoid reprisals and to be free from such evil influences, the Shaikh transferred his seat of Government to al-Istat, an isolated place, where he can be nearer to his chief centre of proselytism and better survey the movements which interest him. He himself is said to live not in the Záwiyah, but at Joffa close by. It will be interesting to see what attitude the Sanúsís take up with reference to recent reform movements in Turkey. They will probably hold that it justifies the removal of their head-quarters from Turkish territory.

New routes have been opened up in various directions. "From this inaccessible fortress the Shaikhu'l-Mahdí now governs all the territories occupied by the Sanúsís. Swift messengers carry his orders to all parts of North Africa; and he is kept constantly informed by his agents of all that transpires in the outer world, receiving books, pamphlets, newspapers, and all the requirements of his responsible office. His military and political organization is complete. The policy of the Sanúsí never changes." ¹ Mr. Vischer, a

¹ Silva White, "From Sphinx to Oracle," p. 129.

British official, reports that in 1902 he found "the Sanúsi head-quarters at Kufra to be a regular arsenal of modern arms and ammunition and that in the schools children are taught to hold all foreigners in the deepest hatred."¹ The Order has now seventeen monasteries in Egypt, but in Tripoli there are many more. It there defies all rules and is a great social and political power. The Sanúsiyya Darweshes sometimes, in places where they were likely to meet with much opposition, assumed other names. Thus in Tunis they appeared as members of the Qádiriyya Order when they commenced operations there. The success they have met with has been comparatively small, and they have only five Záwiyahs in that country. They have been more successful in the oases of the Şahára, where they have won over many of the Ikhwán of the Raḥmáníyya Order. In the Algerian province of Constantine they have had great influence with the active and fanatical Tijáníyya Confraternities. They commenced work in Morocco in 1877 and soon had three Záwiyahs there, at Tangiers, Tetuan and Fez. In that country, however, they are very closely connected with the Darqáwiyya Darweshes, with whose political views and tendencies they have much in common. In the locality where the Darqáwiyya Shaikh resides, his followers

¹ C.M.S. Review, June 1907, p. 382.

are looked upon as close friends and allies of the Sanúsís. In the various oases and amongst the Berber tribes of the Atlas range they have many adherents.¹ In the country of Tibeste and of Borku, to the north-west of lake Chad, they used their utmost endeavours to convert the heathen population or to stir up the Muḥammadans to greater strictness of religious life. In 1873 they had gone as far as Senegal and in 1888 they were in Timbuktu. At that time the Order had not penetrated into the Upper Nile region, nor into Nigeria, but their influence on the Orders already there is so great that it is probably only a question of time when the influence of the Sanúsís will be predominant in these regions. In the year 1900, the Rev. E. F. Wilson reported that the Sanúsís were in Lokoja, a town in Upper Nigeria, and were giving trouble by proclaiming that a massacre of Christians would shortly take place.² This seems to have been an isolated effort, for the official testimony is that "there is practically no Sanúsí cult in Northern Nigeria, except possibly in Bornu."³ To the Muslims of these districts, the Sultáns of Sokoto have been the leaders. So long as their influence was para-

¹ For a list of these tribes, see Duvreyrier, "La Confrérie Musulmane," p. 38.

² C.M.S. Report, 1900—I, p. 94.

³ Blue Book No. 409, 1903, Northern Nigeria, p. 77.

mount, even so powerful an Order as that of the Sanúsiyya could gain no permanent footing. It has made attempts and has sent preachers to Kano, but has gained no real influence. It is to be hoped that the Hausa Muslim Chiefs will still maintain the same attitude towards the Sanúsís, but, as the advent of this Order would no longer affect their political power, for it is gone, and, would be, moreover, a serious trouble to their recent conquerors, they may now look upon the Sanúsiyya propaganda in a more favourable light. Still, in various parts of Africa this Order has spread with great rapidity and possesses much influence and power.

In Europe it has found no footing, except at Constantinople. In Asia there are about twelve Záwiyahs, of which three are in Arabia; there being one each in Jedda, Madína and Mecca. The archives of the Order are kept in the one at Mecca. The Order is popular in the Hijáz, the tribes of which are much attached to it. It forms a material force ready to oppose the 'Ulamá and the civil authorities when the time arrives. The Sanúsiyya Darweshes are also found in the Malay Archipelago. The geographical limit of the Order is not yet reached, for it is a community full of life which by its austerities and its promises attracts the sympathy of many Muslims and so tends to absorb and to unify the mighty

forces of the various Orders. It is also active in its mission work amongst pagan tribes whom it converts in large numbers.

A point of great importance is the apparent readiness and success with which the Sanúsiyya Order attaches to itself other religious Confraternities. Duveyrier says: "It is important to remember the tendency of the Sanúsiyya Confraternity to assimilate to itself other religious associations which in common with it have issued forth from the school of the Shádhiliyya, that is to say, almost the whole of the Musalmán Orders. These tactics, of which the political results may be very grave, have been crowned with success in a great number of cases."¹ Rinn says that the object at which these Darweshes aim is "to unite all the Orders into one federation, having a theocratic pan-Islámitic form, free from all secular control, and opposed to all modern ideas."²

The Shádhiliyya, the Tijániyya and the Qádiriyya Orders, after having commenced by repudiating the claims of Shaikh Sanúsi, now bear, more or less, the intellectual yoke of the Sanúsiyya and conform, to some extent, in political matters, to the views held by it.³ The Madániyya Order is

¹ "La Confrérie Musalmane," p. 8.

² Rinn, "Marabouts et Khouan," p. 510.

³ "All these Orders, or Confraternities, formerly divided seem, on the contrary, to-day to obey a common impulse,

also very much under its influence. It is said by some writers that Shaikh Sanúsi tolerated certain of the special rites and ceremonies of these other Orders, and thus extended his personal influence over a mass of people not actually initiated into his own Order, especially over the superstitious, warlike and fanatical Tuwáriq. A man may become a Sanúsi, without abandoning his own Order, provided that he submits to certain restrictions. In fact, this capacity for assimilation is a special characteristic of the Order. "Thus, the Sanúsís claim the support of no less than forty (or, as some authorities would say, sixty-four) groups—Religious Orders, or branches of them—more or less allied to the Shádhiliyya school of philosophy, which embraces the majority of the Muslim Orders. Amalgamation is undoubtedly aimed at, and is, in fact, progressing rapidly; because wherever the Sanúsís settle there they eventually rule. Its latitudinarianism thus constitutes the great cohesive force in the propaganda of the Sanúsís."¹ Its secret agents are to be found in Záwiyahs of other Orders, and these men duly report to the Shaikh all that is of importance for him to know. They also quietly spread Sanúsi views amongst these other Darweshes. Conscious

the origin of which is as yet unknown." (Frisch, "Le Maroc," p. 186.)

¹ Silva White, "From Sphinx to Oracle," p. 117.

of the power which an air of mystery gives, they keep the rules of their Order secret and avoid any outward distinctive sign. The rosary they use is one common to others. In the namáz, or public prayer, they use no peculiar rites, but a special dhikr is made known to their followers. The usual form of dhikr used by the Sanúsís is as follows. The worshipper, after Salátu'l-Fajr, or the usual morning prayer, says forty times, "O my God, preserve me at the moment of death and in the trials which follow it"; then one hundred times, "I seek pardon from God"; then one hundred times, "There is no god but Alláh and Muḥammad is the Prophet of God"; then one hundred times, "O my God, grant thy favour to our Lord Muḥammad the illiterate prophet, also to his family and companions, and give them safety."¹ The three last should then be repeated all over again three times, making altogether nine hundred repetitions. The ritual directions of the dhikr are that the rosary should be carried on the hand and not be suspended from the neck, and in all meetings for worship music and dancing are strictly prohibited.

Whilst the Sanúsís strongly assert the truth that God alone is to be exalted, they allow a

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ النَّبِيِّ الْأُمِّيِّ وَعَلَى آلِهِ¹
وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ

very high veneration to be paid to saints, though they would not call it worship. The novice is expected to entirely renounce the world, and to yield implicit obedience to the Shaikh as his spiritual guide and temporal leader. Luxurious dresses, silk embroidery, ornaments (except for women) and gold and silver vessels are forbidden things; but the precious metals may be used in the hilts of swords, as they may be employed in the Jihád, or Holy War. Coffee and tobacco¹ are strictly forbidden. Tea may be drunk, but not sweetened with loaf sugar, for that is said to be clarified with the bones of animals slain without the use of the expression Bismilláh (i.e., in the name of God) by the persons who killed them. All that appertains to them is thus impure, and so unlawful for use by Muslims. Music and dancing are not allowed. Intercourse with Jews or Christians is not permitted.² No salutation should be made to them, and no business transacted with them. If the Jew or Christian should not be a Rayah, or Dhimmi, he must be dealt with as an enemy.³ He is

¹ This rule is somewhat relaxed in Algeria, where a Muqaddim said, "Those who are rich may smoke, but the poor had better abstain, for in order to indulge in this whim they may deprive their children of bread." (Depont et Coppolaní, p. 556.)

² Duveyrier, "La Confrérie Musulmane," p. 7.

³ "What specially characterizes them (the Sanúsiyya),

either a *Dhimmi*, that is, one allowed to live on payment of a tax, or he is a fair subject for oppression and death. The Order is thus absolutely hostile in its spirit and intention to all non-Muslim peoples. The members of the Order should not carry their disputes before alien law courts. The *Shaikh* is the supreme judge, who alone can settle the civil and criminal cases which may arise in so large a body. They profess to be quite orthodox in their religious principles. They look upon the *Qur'án* as God's word direct to His people, and consider the *Sunna* to be that same will, declared in the daily actions and words of the Prophet. They look upon *bid'at*, or innovations on the traditional beliefs and practices, as hurtful and heretical; they assert the absolute necessity of the *Imámat*, that is, the constant presence of a spiritual Pontiff, whom they find in their *Shaikh*. They consider that the ideal religious life is one of contemplation.

All this leads the *Sanúsiyya*, the most uncompromising, and the most powerful of all the Orders, to view *Islám* as a Theocracy and to consider that all good Muslims should with them so look upon it. The result is a great

above every *Muḥammadan* Order or Sect, is, not merely the fanaticism within their own religion, but their burning hatred of Christians." (Rohlf's, quoted by Silva White in "From Sphinx to Oracle," p. 127.)

pan-Islámic movement. Intelligent and convinced, too, of the excellence of their cause, they can with patience wait for the full result of their teaching. Not that this is likely to lead to more toleration, for one of the most recent of the best informed French writers on Islám in Algiers declares that, if it were possible to drive the French into the sea and to establish a theocratic State, the religious Orders would do it at once.¹ But for the present, the Sanúsís enter into no political engagements with Christian or Muslim Powers, and simply trust to the heaven which their principles introduce amongst Muslims. The end to be sought for is to so regenerate Islám, by restoring it to its ancient state, as they conceive it to have been, that it may present an effective barrier to the destructive forces of European civilization and the modern spirit. They do all this from a religious motive for they affirm that the glory of God is their only aim. They do, however, look forward to a temporal kingdom, which the Theocracy they hope to see will be; but for the present they work for that object in their own way, and that

1 "If these secret Societies caught a glimpse of the possibility of casting us into the sea and of substituting a theocratic Musalmán State for the actual Government; then, without the least doubt, they would seek to overthrow in one supreme effort the Christian rule." (Comte Henry de Castries, "Islám," p. 236.)

way is to avoid any entanglements with worldly Powers. In 1872 the Prussians tried to stir up the Sanúsís to proclaim a Jihád against the French, but in vain. The Sultán of Turkey ordered the Shaikh to send him some men to fight the Russians, but not a man went. The Italians have sought their aid in counteracting French influence in Tunis, but have not succeeded in getting it. During the revolt of Arabi Pasha in Egypt the Sanúsís did not stir.

In the year 1885, six envoys came from the Mahdí in the Súdán to Jaghbúb with a letter addressed to the Shaikh of the Sanúsís.¹ The Mahdí wrote somewhat as follows: "I have defeated the English and Egyptian troops. I shall continue the war until Egypt falls into the hands of the true believers. Thou art all powerful in the West. Join me in a Holy War." The Shaikh asked his Darweshes what he should say in reply. They said, "Thou art the Master, and we follow thy order." The Súdánis were well treated, and on the fourth day the Shaikh addressed them as follows: "Tell your master that we will have nothing to do with him. His way is not good. I send no letter in reply."

¹ The Mahdí, Muḥammad Aḥmad, who was originally a Muqaddim of the Qádiriyya Order, had acquired in the Záwiyah of Keneh, a town in Upper Egypt, a great reputation as a mystic and a worker of miracles.

Thus a great danger to civilization was happily averted. The Shaikh saw plainly that the revolt was premature and lacked the conditions of permanence and success. No doubt also it was the implied ignoring by the Mahdí of his own pretensions as the foremost and most excellent of all the Shaikhs, and not any consideration for Egypt, which led the Sanúsí leader to refuse his countenance and aid to the Eastern Súdán movement. The destruction of the Mahdí of Khartum has very materially strengthened the Sanúsiyya Order by the accession to its ranks of the Darweshes of the Nile whose power, as a separate body, has now been broken and by the extinction of any rival authority to that of its own Shaikh, who is undoubtedly the most powerful leader of men in Africa at this present time, for negroes, converted to Islám in their thousands every year, form excellent soldiers and these by the million are at the call of the great Sanúsí chief, Shaikhu'l-Mahdí. He is now the head of the anti-christian movement from Morocco to Mecca and from lake Chad to Darfur.

The direct action of the Sanúsís in any of the insurrections in Algiers has never been proved; but even though no overt acts can be alleged, yet the widespread influence of their teaching and their known dislike to all modern methods of civilization have doubtless been very

powerful factors in leading others on in the way of more active and pronounced opposition, and their Záwiyahs have always been open to rebels. In order to remove a standing menace to Algeria, it was necessary for the French to occupy the oasis of Tuát in force. The Taibiyya and the Karzáziyya Orders seem to have been friendly over this, but the Bakkaiyya and the Sanúsiyya Darweshes strongly opposed the French. It is a most important place to hold. It lies near the centre of the Şahára and its possession gives control over many trade routes. In 1881 a French expedition was destroyed by the Tuwáriq, instigated by 'Abdu'l-Qádir, the head of the Sanúsís in Tuát. They foresaw that punishment would come and persuaded the Sultán of Morocco to declare Tuát to be a part of his dominions which he did in a letter in 1886. The French remonstrated and he then said that the letter was a forgery. It became quite clear that under Sanúsí influence Tuát would become a centre of intrigue, and so about the year 1900 the French took absolute possession of it.

The present policy, however, of the Order seems to be to encourage emigration from lands under alien rule to lands which European influence has not yet reached, or in which it has not yet become in any way a power. This really means a vast emigration to the oases of the Şahára and

other parts. "The exodus from all the Musalmán countries grows more numerous every day."¹ Thus all the main caravan routes are being brought under Sanúsí control, wells are dug, trees are planted and cultivation is carried on by freed slaves, now carefully instructed in the dogmas and practices of the Order. In this way it is thought that the true believers may be gathered together and be preserved from living under the yoke of Christian powers, or under the scarcely less hated rule of the Sultán and Khedive, who, in the opinion of the Sanúsís, are under the control of European Governments and suffer, from that pernicious influence. In fact, Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and other countries where modern civilization has had some influence, are looked upon with much reprobation. The facts of material and moral progress cannot be denied, but the fanatical spirit pays little heed to such improvement. "The Sanúsís are the most violent enemies of the Christians, and they equally call themselves the enemies of the Turks."² The motto of the Order is: "The Turks and the Christians are in the same category: we will destroy them both at the same time."³ None of these countries, then, are suitable for the development of the theocratic views of

¹ Comte Henry de Castries, "L'Islám," p. 238.

² Frisch, "Le Maroc," p. 190.

³ ألترك والنصارى أكل كل فى رمزة نفلهم فى مرة

the Order, and departure from them was urged many years ago. In this respect the practice of the Order has been most consistent. In a pastoral letter, written by a Muqaddim in 1869, the following passage occurs: "Recite the dhikr, it opens the way to God. Leave those who say, 'God wills that you should be as you are.' God does not reveal himself forcibly to an Arab or to a stranger, His sole object is Himself, the One, who begets not, and is not begotten. O brothers, do not neglect us or the Shaikh. Is not the earth vast? Change your residence, and then the dwellings of those who do not emigrate with you will be burnt down. But as to the feeble men and women, who cannot do so, perhaps God will pardon them. It is written, 'whoever fleeth his country for the cause of God, will find many under like compulsion and abundant resources.'¹ 'As for those who led the way, the first of the Muhájirún,² and the Anşár³ and those who followed their noble conduct, God is well pleased with them.'"⁴ The Shaikhu'l-Mahdí later on said to his followers, "Quit your country. Is not God's earth vast?"

There is much trouble in the Muslim world at

¹ Súratu'n-Nisá', (iv) 101.

² That is, first emigrants from Mecca to Madína.

³ That is, those who in Madína helped Muḥammad.

⁴ Súratu't-Taubah, (ix) 101.

the growing Christian occupation of lands, till lately open only to the followers of Islám. In Africa especially this is seen to be the case. There the Sultán of Turkey has no real power, and his claim to the Khalifate and so to a sort of universal dominion is by no means generally admitted. In Morocco it is absolutely denied.¹ Thus had it not been for these religious Confraternities, the flock in Islám would, in some parts, have been as sheep without a shepherd. The reason for the founding of new Orders, such as that of the Sanúsiyya, is thus to be found in the need felt by large bodies of Muslims for clear direction and supervision, and for something which will give them some spiritual solidarity. This the Sanúsiyya Order has sought to give by setting before itself as one of its grand objects the federation of all the various Orders under its general supervision. This propaganda as I have shown has been carried out with much success, but recent writers hold that fortunately many of the leaders of the other Orders do not approve of this plausible attempt at the entire absorption of their Confraternities into that the Sanúsiyya. "The desire for wealth and temporal power which now influences many of the Shaikhs of other Confraternities also tends to hinder the Sanúsiyya

¹ Meakin, "The Moorish Empire," p. 198.

propaganda amongst them.”¹ “The Shaikhu’l-Mahdí will flatter in vain the teaching of the other brotherhoods, he will be respected but will not become their absolute and uncontrollable Master. . . In Tunis and Algeria the same evolution dashes itself in vain against the solid position of the Qádiriyya and the Tijániyya Orders, whose individual temper agrees ill with the doctrines of the Sanúsís.”² If this is the case, a reaction must have set in; but for all that the Sanúsís are a most powerful organization, growing both in numbers and in influence. The official leaders of some of the stronger Orders from self-interest may resist the propaganda of the Sanúsís amongst their followers, but the influence of the Sanúsí Darwishes on the ordinary brethren of most Confraternities is very great and their appeal to the masses is most effective. They are united in purpose and energetic in the dissemination of their views on the reform of Islám in dogma and in practice. They desire to revive the glories of the early days of Islám with all its intolerance and fanaticism. It is this aspect of the movement which brings with an attendant danger. It is said by an observant traveller that, “Algeria is honey-combed with Sanúsí intriguers . . . so vast a combination is necessarily

¹ “Depont et Coppolani,” p. 568.

² “Depont et Coppolani,” p. 558.

fraught with danger to the peace of Africa; so intolerant and powerful a sect is, ostensibly, capable of shaking Islâm to its foundation, when the moment of action arrives."¹

The French in Algiers are perfectly aware of the danger which arises from the presence of these fanatical communities in their midst.² More than half of the Muslim inhabitants of Algeria are connected with various Religious Orders, which possess no less than three hundred and fifty Zâwiyahs. All these Darweshes are trained to yield implicit obedience to the will of their Shaikhs. As a rule they are simple, credulous persons, but for this reason are all the more easily led astray. Of all the Orders that of the Sanúsiyya is the most irreconcilable enemy of the French, and it is by patient working, by ceaseless intrigue, and by thorough knowledge of the Muslim mind and heart that it has attained to its great position of influence and to its present great power for evil. Referring to the possible danger and trouble which all this may bring, Comte Henry de Castries says that should a continental war compel France to withdraw many troops from Africa, the Sanúsiyya and

¹ Silva White, "From Sphinx to Oracle," pp. 124--5.

² "The Confraternity of the Sanúsís is an irreconcilable enemy, really dangerous to the French authority in North Africa." (Duveyrier, "La Confrérie Musulmane," p. 14.)

the other Orders might easily be stirred up by an enemy of France to open revolt.¹ The only hope then would be that the Shaikhs of the various Orders in their bid for power would fall out amongst themselves, and that tribal factions would lead to disunion.² He thinks this would be the probable outcome of such an adverse movement, for "*l'anarchie est le mal endémique de l'Islâm.*" This is true, for from the days of the internecine strifes of the early Khalífate there has never been universal religious or permanent political unity in Islâm.

I have now given an account of the principal Religious Orders, the rise and progress of which has an important bearing on the mission work of the Church. I have shown the political danger which may arise from this vigorous and fanatical movement: the religious peril is no less imminent. Some of the Orders may be more actively missionary in their operations than others; but there is no difference between them in their common hatred of Christianity and in their desire to forestall its advance.

For many centuries Islâm has had an open door in Central Africa and the Súdâns, and, during

¹ "*L'Islâm,*" p. 239.

² "The representatives of the different mystical Schools of Islâm are generally in a state of severe competition with each other." (C. Snouck Hurgronje, "*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.*" p. 217.)

the last hundred years especially, has taken full advantage of its favourable position. It is only recently that facilities have been afforded to Christian Missionaries. Thus much valuable time has been lost. It is true that from the beginning of the thirteenth century the Church of Rome has, from time to time, sent missionaries to Morocco. These heroic men, under great difficulties and in the face of much persecution, carried on their work and many found a martyr's death. The Franciscans are still at work there, though, it is said that their attention is chiefly directed to the Europeans.¹ This is natural, for the Romanist must always, as compared with a non-Romanist, be at a great disadvantage in dealing with Muhammadans. Practically, until recent years little has been done to place in an acceptable form the Gospel before the Muslims of Morocco and Algeria. The North Africa Mission is now engaged in this most difficult work. It is confronted by the influence of the great Confraternities which I have described, and so it justly deserves all the sympathy and support it can obtain. Its work is highly spoken of and merits recognition.²

¹ For an account of Christian Missions in Morocco, see Meakin, "The Moorish Empire," pp. 307-34.

² "Spiritual forces are at work in Morocco among the Moors, those self-same spiritual forces, which, as a righteous leaven, raised our nature from a state of barbarism and

Political causes have brought civilized rule, with its accompanying protection of life and property, into Central Africa and the Súdáns. This may, however, facilitate the modern Muslim propaganda.¹ It is also possible that the adoption of a constitutional Government in Turkey and reforms in Persia, if they come to pass, may increase the dislike of the more fanatical Darweshes to these Muslim States. It may also cause some of the other Orders to follow the example of the Sanúsiyya and to seek in lands now occupied by pagan tribes, whom they will hope to win, an escape from modern influences which appear to them to be inconsistent with the earlier teaching of Muḥammadan law and custom, and to be at variance with their ideal of a true Theocratic Muslim State.

In any case, whatever may be the result of the political activity of the great Darwesh Orders,

continue to raise it. . . . It is the popular custom of travellers to disparage missionaries, a task as easy as to disparage the tiny worm which bores and buries itself, and in a lifetime severs less of the tree-trunk than a day's growth adds, but it is a work that tells and the tree falls. Let their work be difficult, their faith a mockery to those who share it not, their object hopeless, their achievements insignificant, or, it may be, illusory; their faults apparent, their methods, absurd; the missionaries, of whatever creed, are the noble few who live for the future and no seed they sow is lost." (Meakin, "The Moorish Empire," p. 437.)

¹ Ante, p. 77.

and it is by no means devoid of serious peril, it is absolutely certain that the religious propaganda will be carried on with vigour. We may fairly accept the position that Islám, in some respects, raises a pagan tribe to a higher level of life and conduct, and yet, in the interests of social order, of moral life, of religious belief, and so in the best interests of mankind, we may view the conversion of such tribes to Islám with much concern. No well-wisher of even the most degraded race can desire that it should be permanently fixed at what, after all, is a low level of conduct and that an almost impassable barrier should be placed in the way of its rising to a higher stage of life by the acceptance of a purer and more elevating faith.¹ Muslims have been and will be won for Christ; still it is matter of common experience that a people once gathered into the fold of Islám are extremely difficult to reach and are far less responsive to the claims of Christianity than when in their heathen state. It seems very unlikely that the varied African races can remain long in their present religious and social condition. They will soon become Muslims or Christians. Probably, in the past history of the Church, there has hardly ever been a crisis so acute as this is now. In many parts of the mission field, people now heathen

¹ Ante, pp. 79, 80.

will be so forty or fifty years hence and it will be *no more difficult* to reach them then than now. It is not so in Africa. Let these years pass by and the Africans, then become Muḥammadans, will be a hundred fold *more difficult* to influence then than now.

As regards the present relation of Christianity to Islām, whilst the work of the Missionary Societies in Egypt and in other great centres of Muḥammadan life is of the highest value and must be maintained, it would yet seem that the primary duty of arresting the progress of Islām in Africa is by forestalling its operations amongst the pagan tribes. It is this fact which gives such great importance to the Universities' Mission and to the C.M.S. Uganda Mission. "There was a time where the future of the Kingdom of Uganda hung in the balance. It was a struggle between Christianity and Muḥammadanism, and, if the advent of the mission had been delayed, even for a few years, we might have found Uganda a Muḥammadan State." ¹

The formation of strong Christian Churches is the best possible barrier to the onward march of Islām. If the C.M.S. Hausa Mission is promptly and well supported, similar progress

¹ Willis, "Christianity or Muḥammadanism in the Uganda Diocese," (C.M.S. Intelligencer, July 1904, p. 489). I reproduce some portions of this interesting article in a note at the end of this book.

with a like result may also be looked for in the regions in which its operations are carried on.

The resources of Missionary Societies are limited in men and means. In the wonderful opening up of all lands and in the great social and political changes which are now in progress, the call for help comes with increasing force from all sides. The response can only be partial. Some estimate of the relative urgency of each call must be made. Is it too much to say that the Muslim advance in Africa places that land in the very forefront of all the many claimants, and gives to Missionary Societies working there a foremost place in the prayers, the sympathy and the aid of all who are interested in the permanent extension of the Kingdom of God. The most urgent work which the Church is now called upon to undertake is the speedy evangelization of the pagan people in Africa, who will, if now neglected, soon pass on into the fold of Islám.

EXTRACT FROM AN ARTICLE,

“Christianity or Muḥammadanism in the
Uganda Diocese ”

by the Rev. J. J. Willis in the “C.M.S. Intelligencer,” July 1904.

FROM a missionary point of view the Kingdom of Uganda occupies a remarkable position. Though the large majority of its population are still Heathen, it may be almost regarded as a Christian country, inasmuch as its legislature is practically Christian, and most of its leading men are Christian by profession. And as a Christian country it stands in the centre of Equatorial Africa, surrounded by heathen countries, north, east, south, and west. Beyond this belt of Paganism lies another belt, west, north, and east—Muḥammadanism. To the south there is none, and there is no advance of Muḥammadanism to be feared from that quarter. But in the remaining three directions there is.

Paganism, natural religion based on no literature, is necessarily a weak religion. It is vague,

formless, and takes no really strong hold. Christianity and Muḥammadanism are both strong religions, which men hold to the death. And between these two religions the battle in Africa will be fought. It seems more than probable that, before very many years are past, one of these or the other will be the dominant power among the tribes around Uganda who are at this present moment Heathen. The danger of a Muḥammadan advance is one to be reckoned with, because, even though the adherents of that faith in Central Africa may know almost nothing of its teaching, and be scarcely, if at all, bound by its restrictions, once the Heathen have become, even in name, Muḥammadan, our great opportunity is passed; there is no longer an open mind.

Now of the three possible directions from which Islâm may advance, the most remote is the west. The Muḥammadan States on or near the west coast of Africa are separated from us by an immense distance; they are barred by vast stretches of pathless forest; and countries under another administration lie between. So that the danger from that direction need not be seriously regarded. In any case we have the Kingdom of Toro, some two hundred miles to the west, standing as an outlying fortress in that quarter.

A more serious danger looms in the north, from the Muḥammadanism advancing slowly from

Egypt southwards through the Súdán. Every year is bringing Egypt nearer to us, as communication by river and road is perfected, and travel from north to south facilitated. The future of the Nile tribes will not be long undecided, and much will depend on whether Christianity or Muḥammadanism is first in the field. Many of the Nile tribes farther north are already nominally Muḥammadan, but the tribes lying immediately to the north of Bunyoro are not only still pagan, but have, in one instance at least, expressed a very strong desire to be taught. Now is our opportunity of extending to the north, and we rejoice that it is being seized.

But if the possibility of Muḥammadan encroachment from the north is an eventuality clearly to be reckoned with, a very much more pressing danger threatens from the east. Here the distance from the coast, once to be reckoned by months, is now to be reckoned by days. It was inevitable that with the railway should come in a rush of Swahili;¹ inevitable, too, that they, with their long

¹ "It is by these Swahilis, in the character of merchants, that Muḥammadanism is propagated among the heathen tribes of the interior. As all the available literature of Islám is in Arabic, and very few Swahilis, even in Zanzibar, know that language, it is evident that their proselytizing efforts can only have a very superficial effect. Conversion practically may be said to consist in the utterance of a formula. Yet these Swahilis, and also their so-called converts, are extremely difficult to win to

experience of civilization, should exercise a dominant influence over the tribes in East Africa still in their infancy.

Christ: they are so ignorant, even of their own ignorance, so impervious to argument, and they cling so stubbornly to their creed." (C.M.S. Report, 1907-08, p. 52.)

For the spread of Islám in Nigeria, see the same Report, p. 31.

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